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Genscher makes a point in Vienna and Brussels



What can have prompted Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher to reiterate, in an interview with the *Frankfurter Rundschau*, the aspects he sees as important in striking a conventional arms balance in Europe?

Shame on anyone who surmises that Bonn's busy Foreign Minister made a point of hitting the headlines in the aftermath of Easter, traditionally a time when there is little news with which to hit the headlines.

High-ranking Foreign Office officials momentously hint that the Minister's aim, in restating his case, was to make a point in both Vienna and Brussels.

Nato and Warsaw Pact negotiators have reconvened in the Austrian capital for what seems likely to be the last and crucial round of talks in preparation for conventional disarmament negotiations.

In Brussels a Nato working party is busy working on a joint approach to the Vienna MBFR talks. So it could well be that Herr Genscher felt the need to make it clear in both capitals where he and the Bonn government stood.

But that need not be the whole truth. In both Vienna and Brussels Bonn's viewpoint has long been clear.

The Federal government would like to see East-West agreement on equal and low ceilings for non-nuclear weapon systems needed to launch surprise attacks and terrain-gaining offensives, meaning mainly battle tanks and field artillery.

The Federal government is also known to be keen on asymmetrical force reduction, meaning more men being demobilised and more arms and equipment scrapped by the Warsaw Pact, with its numerical superiority, than by the West.

These two cornerstones of the negotiating package as envisaged are, however, little more than truisms. Herr Genscher may be able to claim to have endorsed them early and energetically, but they are now political commonplaces.

He clearly has something different in mind. He seems to fear that either he or the Federal government might be entangled in a rerun of the missile modernisation debate in the course of which disarmament moves could grow less important in the domestic context.

With memories of the last days of the Bonn SPD-FDP coalition in mind, he fears that a debate of this kind could only weigh heavily on his pact with the CDU/CSU, proving particularly burdensome for him and his party, the Free Democrats.

Besides, his personal conviction is that what disarmament counts for more than arms modernisation.

Modernisation has been a concept with unfortunate connotations since the early 1980s, so it would be somewhat inappropriate to use it in connection with the present arms imbalance.

Arms modernisation has, oddly enough, come to be associated almost entirely with nuclear rather than conventional weapons.

In both cases fine tuning is needed as long as the potential adversary is either superior in manpower or firepower or in the process of making his weapons more effective.

Both sides must seek to outdo each other until such time as agreed and verifiable arms limitation has been negotiated.

A negotiating target must not be rated fairly easy to achieve over a limited period, with the inference that modernisation can thus be dispensed with then being drawn.

Strategically and in terms of negotiating tactics the right approach is to proclaim one's readiness in principle to go ahead and modernise and to embark on preparations by, say, placing development contracts.

It must, however, also be clear that negotiations, always assuming they achieve results, could lead to modernisation programmes being abandoned.

Chancellor Kohl and Foreign Minister Genscher have dragged their feet on the weapon systems modernisation debate begun at the Brussels Nato conference.

It dealt mainly with missiles in the 110 to about 400km (70-250 mile) range capable of being fitted out with both nuclear and conventional warheads.

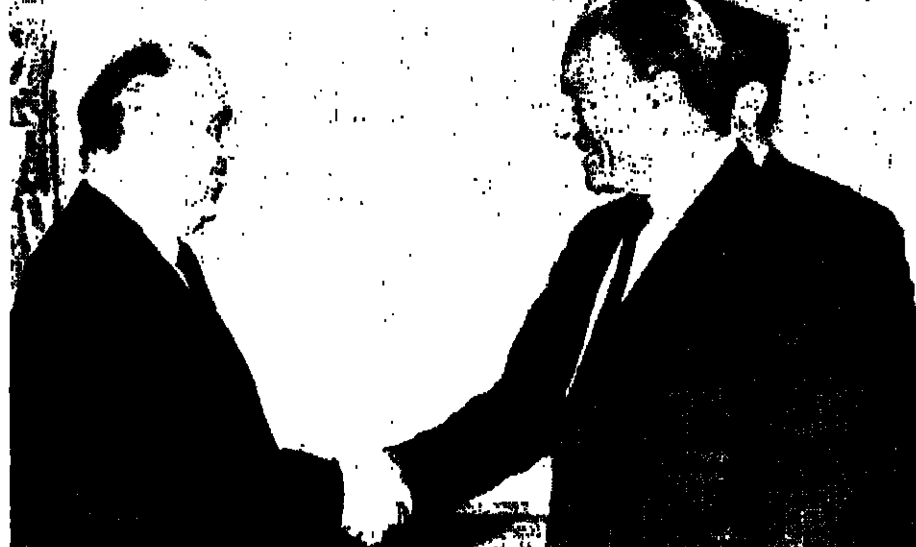
Whether they were wise to stall on this issue is another matter. The development and construction of new short-range missiles have been virtually approved.

American diplomats in Brussels and politicians in Washington may say they are prepared to bear in mind the domestic situation faced by Herr Kohl and Herr Genscher and to give them both a little time, but it is clear what is expected of them in the final analysis.

The next missile modernisation debate is inevitable, and Herr Genscher will have no choice but to take up his cudgels — even though he may first try to divert attention from the prospect.

Dietrich Möller

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 8 April 1988)



Willy Brandt (right), SPD hon. chairman and chairman of the Socialist International, being welcomed to Moscow by CPSU general secretary Mikhail Gorbachov (see article on page 3) (Photo: dpa)

Internal market Euro-miracle deadline is set for 1992

Wonders seldom happen, especially in politics. But one is shortly to happen in the European Community, where the 12 national markets are to be transformed by the end of 1992 into a single internal market.

It will be a common market with no tariff or other, red tape barriers, a market of *320 million consumers comparable only* with the gigantic US domestic economy.

That, at least, is what European Community heads of state and government have promised, and the European Commission in Brussels has energetically set about drafting finished proposals on the basis of which the single internal market could be put into practice.

Once the nearly 300 proposals submitted by the Brussels Eurocrats are transformed into regulations, guidelines and legislation the European Community will have ended particularism, at *least in economic affairs, and at last* flexed its muscle.

Customs have not been levied since the early 1970s within the European Community, and trade in goods between member-countries is in principle free — but only in principle.

Travellers are still checked at frontiers between one European Community country and the next to see, for instance, whether they are importing more than the permitted number of cigarettes, wine or spirits.

Lorries still spend hours waiting for clearance, and anyone who wants to supply a nut or bolt from one European Community country to another must comply with an abundance of standards and requirements so varied as virtually to defy *efforts to be acquainted with them all.*

It costs both time and money and is a source of constant trouble and annoyance.

This is all to change, and to change fast. Having said that, 1992 would be the first major deadline in the history of the European Community that was met on time — always presupposing it is.

In the past, Ministers and heads of government have invariably discovered that there is a difference between heralding and implementing grand designs.

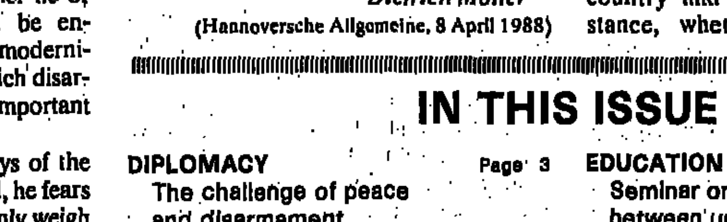
Yet in the final analysis it hardly matters whether the single internal market is set up *on 31 December 1992 or a few months la*ter. What matters is that it is set up at all, and even that cannot be guaranteed.

Once the Council of Ministers sets about examining the proposals in detail, all the national interests, peculiarities and vanities that have stymied the common internal market for 30 years will return to the fray.

Once negotiations get down to such engrossing topics as harmonisation of tobacco duties, joint action to combat swine fever and agreement on axle payloads for heavy goods vehicles, the spate of European *activity triggered by the 1992 dead*line will soon grind to a halt.

That will certainly apply to the Federal Republic of Germany and, arguably, to it in particular. The Germans will have to make concessions at the European Community negotiating table on issues that could clinch election results in the Federal Republic. They include, for instance, environmental and consumer protection. A

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■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Missile modernisation mix-up — is it fact or fiction?

DIE WELT

There is an incomprehensible aspect to the factual contradiction between comments made by the Federal Chancellor and by the Bonn Opposition leader on modernisation of nuclear weapons in the Federal Republic.

It relates to the United States. SPD leader Hans-Jochen Vogel says a US decision on missile modernisation is planned next year. Chancellor Kohl announced, on returning from Washington, that this wasn't the case.

Both claimed to base their reading of the situation on authoritative US sources. But only one of them can be right. Does this confusion accurately reflect the state of the Western alliance?

There is indeed a lack of clear indications on the future of security and disarmament. Britain alone clearly says what it thinks.

After last month's Nato summit in Brussels Mrs Thatcher said that the remaining US nuclear weapons stationed in Europe must be modernised.

Troops stationed on the Continent must not, she told a small group of listeners in Brussels, be "stripped of their clothes."

In that case it would be better to withdraw them. She would certainly not strip them.

US Defence Secretary Frank Carlucci made a similar comment at the international defence congress in Munich.

There can be no disputing the fact that to hesitate over modernisation is to disarm, and to come to closer to the "third zero solution," regardless whether or not one owns up to doing so.

Deadlines are the one aspect. The land-based American Lance missiles, for instance, will be phased out by 1995. Once the go-ahead to replace them with longer-range, say 400km, missiles has been given it will still take five to six years to do so.

This time aspect favours Opposition leader Vogel's version. If the government says anything different it can only favour a different policy.

It would be an illusion to want to delay the decision and at the same time keep one's options open. Soviet diplomacy will make full use of this hesitation.

It is, however, not merely a matter of deadlines; it is also one of security. In a nutshell, if somewhat exaggeratedly, the range of German viewpoints can be described as follows:

The Opposition is in favour of the third zero solution as a theoretical option, whereas the government is pursuing it in terms of practical policy.

It is clear that American politicians who are think further ahead than President Reagan's last days in power cannot be satisfied with this policy of doublethink.

If the Federal Republic were really to prove incapable of weapons innovation in the wake of medium-range missile disarmament, fresh strategic considerations would gain increasing importance for US security.

The question of US commitment would be reduced to the dimension of America's own security. The inclination to come to terms with the Soviet Union over the Europeans' (in other words, the Germans') heads is on the increase.

A point worth noting is that German domestic policymakers (who are evidently born home affairs specialists) will hear nothing of this self-evident foreign policy truth.

The Soviet Union will not follow suit. Much though Moscow may be keen to disarm and cut costs, it can be sure to classify under a security heading the ability to bring strategic and political pressure to bear on its western neighbours, particularly the Germans.

The more hesitantly the Atlantic alliance faces up to it, the more the Soviet Union will come to see the disarmament process as a means by which it can weaken the other side's resistance.

The Soviet objective, or long-term strategy, of driving a wedge between the United States and Western Europe will come more closely into sight.

That is why Moscow is not going to allow the Bonn government the liberty or convenience of an overall security and disarmament concept.

As Western domestic policies stand, the Soviet Union can only be interested in separate, individual solutions, each taking a lengthy time to negotiate.

The entire process, dealing with both nuclear and conventional potentials, will serve the purpose of playing for time while the high tide of nervousness increases inch by inch in the Federal Republic.

If, in this unlimited time, Soviet negotiators succeed in preventing the modernisation of Western forces in Europe they will have achieved their main objective of reducing Western security.

Unclarity is a curse. The Western alliance must regain the firm ground of unimpassioned analysis and secure concepts.

The Soviet Union may talk in terms of a changed military doctrine now based on a defensive approach, but it is going ahead at the same time with the modernisation of its offensive strategy.

This modernisation is the only trump card Moscow holds at a time when national unrest is shaking the foundations of a policy only recently outlined in terms of glasnost and perestroika.

Mr Gorbachov has loosened the tight official hold on the framework of the Soviet system.

Given this shake-out he can only hope to retain power by claiming to have achieved "revolutionary success" in demoralising the Western alliance.

Herbert Kremp

(Die Welt, Bonn, 31 March 1988)

West must act on poison gas in the Gulf

Photos of the latest use of chemical weapons in the Gulf War will have shaken everyone who saw them in newspapers or on television.

They included photos of corpses lining the streets of Halabdja, a Kurdish village, people who had failed to escape from the clouds of poison gas.

Then there were photos of gas victims who were beyond the capacity of Iranian hospitals to treat them and had to be flown to Austria, France, Germany and North America for treatment.

What is hard to understand is why public and political opinion in Western democracies have paid as little or no attention to this further crime, for which Iraqi leaders seem sure to be to blame, as they did to past poison gas attacks in the Gulf War.

It is not enough for Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher to recall that an international ban on chemical weapons is long overdue.

He may be right in reaching this conclusion but it has the disadvantage of failing to influence current events in the least.

Public opinion must first, perhaps, come to realise what the use of poison gas means in the Gulf War.

It is the first time since Auschwitz that civilians have been killed by chemicals such as Prussic acid.

Richard Murphy of the US State Department said in September 1985 that "the most comprehensive use of chemical weapons since the *First World War*" was in progress in the Gulf War.

This is heedless of the 1925 Geneva convention, signed by both Iran and Iraq, proscribing the use of chemical weapons.

It is less a matter of whether German firms have helped the Baghdad regime to set up chemical weapons manufacturing facilities. That is permitted by the terms of the convention; the use of such weapons is what is banned.

Their use is what is at issue. It is in utter disregard of international law, yet it is a breach of law the international community has so far tolerated.

There has been no special session of the UN Security Council. There have been no UN resolutions on sanctions.

What more must happen for the democracies to feel obliged to act? Must they accept such provocations merely because some feel it would not be desirable to weaken Iraq at present?

That would surely be to abandon any attempt to establish agreed rules of international conduct.

Wolfgang Schmieg

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 2 April 1988)

Proliferation overshadows INF success

An entire category of weapons, medium-range missiles, is to be scrapped, the superpowers say. But in announcing this good news they are, as so often, telling only part of the truth.

While Moscow and Washington set about scrapping their intermediate-range systems more and more Third World states are coming of age where missiles are concerned.

In connection with the proliferation of chemical and nuclear weapons of mass destruction this trend heralds a totally new strategic situation described by the International Institute of Strategic Studies, London, as the end of the military hegemony of the blocs that took shape after the Second World War.

No region more clearly indicates than the Middle East the threats posed by this redistribution of military power.

While Israel as a nuclear power could in theory use its newly-developed Jericho 2 device to strike at targets in the Soviet Union, Israeli cities are well within range of missiles of Soviet origin stationed in Syria and capable of being equipped with Syrian-made chemical weapons.

Instances of past preventive strikes by Israel, such as the bombardment of the Osirak nuclear research centre in Iraq in June 1981, make it seem clear that the Israeli Defence Ministry in Tel Aviv has drawn up contingency plans for knocking out Syrian chemical weapons production facilities.

If Israel were to go ahead and bomb these facilities a fresh outbreak of war in the Middle East would be inevitable.

The risk cannot be ruled out, as shown by statements made by former Defence Minister Arik Sharon, who has expressly referred to the threat posed to Israel by missiles and chemical weapons.

This warning was clearly also aimed at Saudi Arabia, which has taken delivery of Chinese CSS-2 Silkworm missiles.

They are claimed to have a range of 3,000km, which would mean they could reach targets in Israel, although Saudi Arabia is doubtless thinking first and foremost of their deterrent effect on Iran.

The harsh tenor of Egyptian and Jordanian warnings to Israel not to make a preventive strike against Saudi missiles emphasises the threat posed by the mere introduction of these new military options.

It is enhanced by the fact that all the missiles here mentioned are either so inaccurately targetable or carry such small payloads that they can only be used to decide the military issue when fitted out with weapons of mass destruction.

Thresholds have already been crossed in this alarming development that indicate a further escalation in weapons technology.

The massive use of poison gas by Iraq in the Gulf War against both military targets and the civilian population has introduced an internationally proscribed weapon in the Middle East without serious sanctions having resulted.

In these circumstances it is clear that the daily missile bombardment of enemy cities by both Iran and Iraq could so easily lead to them making use of the tempting option of equipping their missiles with poison gas warheads.

Semi-official Iraqi sources have already announced that Baghdad is considering the option of such poison-gas attacks on Iranian cities as a "deterrent and punitive measure."

The successful launching of a new short-range missile by India and unconfirmed reports of bids by Arab states to buy Brazilian-made missiles prove that the arms race has entered a new phase

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in the Third World. Manufacturing chemical weapons poses few technical problems for developing countries. Both India and Pakistan are in a position to manufacture nuclear weapons.

The full, alarming extent of this development is clear.

That is why it is so urgently important for the two superpowers, over and above any reduction in their own stockpiles, to agree to a ban — a ban including China — on the proliferation of missile technology.

The manufacture and stockpiling of chemical weapons must also be banned by international agreements including effective verification procedures.

First steps in this direction may be taken within a national framework, especially as it seems to be an established fact that Western — and German — firms have played a part, knowingly or unknowingly, in the establishment of Iraqi and Syrian poison gas production facilities.

Regional conflicts can already be controlled only with difficulty, if at all, as the Soviet Union found out to its cost in Afghanistan, both superpowers have learnt in the Gulf War and the United States has discovered as its influence on Central and Latin America declines.

If Moscow and Washington were to reach the right conclusions from these developments and to take seriously the warnings issued in the Middle East they might succeed in slowing down, if not in stopping, the Third World arms race.

Past experience shows, however, that such hopes are strictly limited.

Jörg Reckmann

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 5 April 1988)

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■ DIPLOMACY

The challenge of peace and disarmament

The Federal Republic of Germany faces one of the biggest challenges in its history.

The key to Europe's future lies in the answer it finds to the threefold question of Western European security, a conclusive conventional disarmament policy and the path to a peace order marked by dialogue and cooperation.

Recent party-political discussions in Germany have reinforced doubts whether the leading political forces have at all recognised this task.

The SPD and the CDU/CSU still seem bogged down in a process of coming to terms with the past.

This prevents them from seriously contemplating the great opportunities which exist to help shape Europe's future.

In his laudable attempt to bring his party closer back to the USA and Nato SPD leader Hans-Jochen Vogel makes exactly the mistake he is trying to avoid.

He tries to make the question of modernising short-range missiles, which can only be clarified within the overall framework of Western security and disarmament policy, the focal point of domestic policy conflicts.

A similar strategy was employed back in the days of the debate on Pershing 2 deployment.

The SPD thus fails to satisfactorily fulfil its role of formulating realistic concepts and urging the government and the parliamentary majority to do the same.

The CDU, arduously struggling to elaborate a foreign policy programme in keeping with the times and guaranteed consensus, could do with fresh impetus.

Its still unclarified position on basic foreign policy issues has been an obstacle to the business of government for years.

Who can seriously doubt today that German problems can only be solved properly on the basis of safeguards for freedom in the whole of Europe and not in conflict with fellow-Europeans?

Or that the reshaping of Europe which now seems possible rules out the possibility of a narrow nation-state reunification approach?

To realise this fact does not, as CDU right-winger Jürgen Todenhöfer maintains, mean rendering homage to a superficial *Zeitgeist*, but understanding the writing on the wall.

In the final analysis, Bonn's international role depends on this comprehension. Herr Geissler's aim is to outline Bonn's role more clearly.

The instruments of a future-oriented foreign policy, such as the CSCE process, the need to harmonise the development of Western Europe and Europe as a whole or Bonn's involvement in major international political tasks, all lag far behind what the government is already achieving.

The long-term guidelines of Bonn foreign policy have held good since the days of Konrad Adenauer.

The situation and specific interests of the Federal Republic of Germany do not permit an alternative, a fact which is not always understood abroad.

It is extremely important, therefore, that the clarity of the foreign policy concept does not fall victim to irrational domestic policy disputes.

The speech by Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher in Athens could provide orientation in this respect.

In rare succinctness it underlined Bonn's special responsibility for shaping a new Europe.

This is a good basis of agreement for all major democratic forces.

The Federal Republic of Germany will only be able to meet the challenge mentioned at the beginning of the article if it brings its full weight to bear.

Wolf. J. Bell

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 29 March 1988)

Wischnewski criticises Bonn's policy towards Nicaragua

Hans-Jürgen Wischnewski, who was commissioned by the SPD to act as mediator between the Nicaraguan government and the Contra rebels, knew why he urged Bonn to resume its development aid for Managua as soon as the armistice agreement was signed.

Herr Wischnewski, nicknamed "Ben Wisch," hit one of the Bonn coalition's sore points.

The coalition has been struggling with the problem case of Central America for many years.

The CDU has tried to steer clear of the fray, whereas the FDP, in charge of the Bonn Foreign Office, and the CSU, in charge of the Economic Cooperation Ministry, have tried to improve their respective images at the expense of their coalition partners.

Herr Wischnewski's criticism of the Bonn government's policy is justified. There is no plausible reason why Managua should be go on being treated as a pariah whilst aid is granted to other countries which have done nothing to restore peace and seek reconciliation.

The Bonn Economic Cooperation Minister, Hans "Johnny" Klein (CSU), apparently wants to see the realisation of some kind of model democracy in Nicaragua before providing development aid.

Herr Klein and his party would forfeit credibility altogether, however, if they were to think nothing of providing substantial support for El Salvador, where civil war continues to rage, left-wing parties are prevented from taking part in elections, reformist politicians fear for their lives, and right-wing extremists, with links to the death squadrons, won the recent election.

The proposal not to decide on the provision of German funds to Managua "alone" but in agreement with such regimes is surely a bad joke.

It is obvious that the FDP Foreign Minister cannot accept this line of policy.

So far Herr Genscher has been obliged to adopt a policy which has bypassed the Bonn Cabinet.

As one of the prime initiators of the San José conferences he helped ensure that the European Community stepped up aid to all the "problem children" in the crisis region from 1984.

His praise for Herr Wischnewski and his cautious confirmation of the "need for continuous construction" in Nicaragua, therefore, by no means come as a surprise.

Herr Genscher's cunning pussy-footing between Bonn and Brussels, however, is no longer enough, since massive aid is more and more urgently needed to stabilise the peacekeeping process.

The time has come for Herr Genscher to openly support such a policy.

Christian S. Krebs

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 26 March 1988)

Willy Brandt is impressed by Gorbachov

During the visit to Moscow by the SPD's honorary chairman Willy Brandt the "Gorbachov effect" again became clearly apparent.

Like Kremlin visitors Franz Josef Strauss (CSU) and Lothar Späth (CDU) before him, Herr Brandt was deeply impressed by the candour of the Soviet party leader.

Mr Gorbachov gave Brandt his undivided attention for four hours.

According to the SPD all controversial issues were broached, issues which at the beginning of this decade often produced an icy silence on the part of Soviet hosts: Afghanistan, the nationalities problem or the defects within the Communist system.

SPD arms policy expert Egon Bahr, who accompanied Herr Brandt, announced what has been discussed for many weeks: the prospects for the completion of a strategic missiles treaty before the Reagan-Gorbachov summit in May look rather bleak.

If this is the case this may initially be rated as a failure.

However, it should not be overlooked that the INF treaty, which can rightly be described as sensational in view of the previous history of arms control negotiations, was only signed a few months ago.

Even if the Start agreement may not be ready for initialling in eight weeks' time there is still more movement in the field of nuclear arms control than ever before.

Bahr's remarks on Soviet readiness to reduce conventional forces remain somewhat vague.

There would be "surprises" and Mr Gorbachov genuinely wants to eliminate conventional superiority, he said.

Even so, an approximate parity in, say, battle tanks would oblige the Soviet Union to unilaterally scrap more than 10,000 tanks.

If the Kremlin seriously thinks along these lines the West would find itself caught without a concept.

On the other hand, who would have believed that the total scrapping of all SS-20s was a realistic proposition two years ago?

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 7 April 1988)

Vogel in Washington sounds out common ground on deployment

When Hans-Jochen Vogel visited Washington as Shadow Chancellor five years ago he came to the White House as a fierce opponent of missile deployment in Europe.

The Social Democrats had very little in common with President Reagan's security policy.

The Americans viewed the SPD with mistrust and were worried that it wanted to take Germany along a separate road.

When Herr Vogel visited President Reagan at the end of March he not only came to the White House as a sceptic and critic, but he also paid respect to the disarmament policy of his host.

SPD chairman and parliamentary party leader Vogel even brought along a thank-you for the first ever disarmament agreement on medium-range missiles.

Of course, this does not mean that there were no differences of opinion.

Reagan is known to think very little of a zero solution for short-term missiles, and he also dislikes the SPD's criticism of SDI.

Herr Vogel gained the impression that the procedure to renew short-range missiles will already start next year and that the Americans are quite simply planning a replacement.

This could cause new friction between the SPD and US government policy.

The Bonn government is known to share Herr Vogel's belief that a new kind of modernisation in the field of short-range missiles could upset the climate of trust.

This explains why Herr Vogel insists that the Bonn government clarifies its position and makes a clear statement on what "modernisation" actually means.

Such clarification might help retain the common ground shared by the coalition and opposition parties in the security policy field.

However, if Chancellor Kohl fails to state what he really wants this could trigger a new deployment debate.

The new concord in the foreign and security policy fields would then come up against its natural limits.

Giselher Sorge

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 3 April 1988)



■ DEUTSCHLANDPOLITIK

Christian Democrats review reunification and rapprochement in Europe

The Christian Democrats have a hard time with some of their number, men who are either unable to part company with outmoded concepts of the enemy or cling with every fibre of their beings to antediluvian targets that are mere wishful thinking.

Defence Minister Manfred Wörner still feels that Mr Gorbachov, who has shown himself for three years to be pragmatic in outlook, is concerned, in the final analysis, with ensuring communist world domination.

CDU MP Jürgen Todenhöfer has lodged a protest against the paper on Deutschlandpolitik drawn up by a commission chaired by CDU general secretary Heiner Geissler for the party conference in June.

Herr Todenhöfer first complains that the word "reunification" is not mentioned once in the proposed policy document and, second, objects to the statement that Germans can only achieve unity in agreement with their neighbours east and west.

How difficult it must be to go about the business of politics with people who fail to take heed of realities!

This complaint has evidently enjoyed so much support that the CDU felt obliged to set up a Deutschlandpolitik expert committee and instruct it to draft compromises.

This 30-member committee will present its first report in mid-April to the working session of the CDU national executive.

Its chairman is Ottfried Hennig, parliamentary state secretary at the Intra-German Affairs Ministry in Bonn and spokesman for the East Prussian *Landsmannschaft*.

His deputy is CDU right-winger Heinrich Lummer, who was Home Affairs Senator in Berlin until he was forced to resign in 1986.

With Dr Hennig and Herr Lummer at the helm, it is as though a commission had been set up in the Soviet Union in the Brezhnev era with Mr Gromyko as its chairman to arrive at a compromise on the Brezhnev Doctrine.

In other words, its findings would seem to be a foregone conclusion.

Yet Chancellor Kohl stated in his 1987 state of the nation address that the division of Germany and Europe could only be ended in agreement with all our neighbours.

"That," he said, "is why we strongly oppose any illusion that we might be able to solve our national problem independently of the East-West conflict."

So the Geissler paper merely repeats what the Chancellor said a year ago.

Over the past 40 years we have had to part company with many illusions, such as the idea that the German Reich continued to exist or the claim to the sole right to represent the German people.

We have acknowledged the existence of the other German state, a state one Bonn Chancellor once referred to as a "phenomenon."

At long last we seem to have reached the stage at which the Chancellor and CDU leader has commissioned a policy draft based on reality.

Let us recall the tenets of the Deutschlandpolitik paper to make this point perfectly clear. They include the following:

- "In the circumstances of continued



division of Germany the policy of dialogue, practical cooperation and treaties with the GDR is the right way to set about specifically helping people in divided Germany."

- "Germans have a responsibility for doing what they can and what they feel they feel is responsible to do to alleviate the East-West conflict in Germany and Europe and to aim at ending it."
- "National frontiers must forfeit *throughout* Europe any effect they may have of separating people."

The policy document goes on to say that the CDU aims to conclude further agreements with the GDR to alleviate the consequences of division. It lists them and their objectives in surprising detail:

- to activate and expand travel and tourism between the two German states;
- to set up a youth and schools exchange scheme;
- to promote partnership in sport and the arts;
- to launch exchange schemes for apprentices and trainees;
- to promote new forms of economic cooperation;
- to make joint provision for environmental protection;
- and to hold regular talks at all levels between Bonn and East Berlin.

So "new thinking" has arrived in Bonn (as well as Moscow) and gives rise to fresh hope, always assuming yesterday's men neither dilute the concept nor break it up entirely.

These supporters of outmoded ideas have still not realised that proclaiming reunification to be the aim of German foreign policy is precisely what prevents any progress toward reunification, the vision of which makes the slightest headway impossible.

No neighbour, to east or west, can relish the prospect of a united Germany, with a population of 80 million, in the heart of Europe, combining the economic potential of the Federal Republic and the GDR.

As a united Germany would be overwhelming in its economic power, neighbouring countries are bound to do all they can to prevent reunification in any form and to maintain the status quo.

What now matters is something entirely different. It is for Western and Eastern Europe to be brought closer together. That is what we must concentrate on.

Mr Gorbachov refers to Europe as a common house we all live in, and many in the West have made encouraging comments along similar lines.

Chancellor Kohl has noted, with reference to Poland, that "the nub of our Ostpolitik and Deutschlandpolitik is not to retrace frontiers but to surmount them by means of humanity and understanding and to do so with all our neighbours to the east."

President Mitterrand stressed during GDR leader Erich Honecker's visit to Paris the responsibility of the French and of Germans on both sides of the Elbe "reconstruct jointly with other nations in East and West a Europe in which it is easy to live and which bears the seeds of hope by virtue of having overcome its division."

Dorothee Wilms, Minister of Intra-German Affairs, said in a Paris speech to which yesterday's men strongly objected that:

"We want nothing more dearly than for all Europe — Western, Central and Eastern Europe and us as Germans as part of it — to find its way back to itself..

"We in Western Europe cannot look on impassively as these peoples struggle to establish a form of life in keeping with their European character."

Not for 40 years has the outlook been as promising as it is today. For 40 years, apart from a short period between the late 1960s and the 1975 Helsinki CSCE conference, Cold War was the rule.

Everything meaningful the superpowers accomplished came about in this short period of detente. It included the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, the ABM Treaty and Salt 1.

In the early 1980s there was talk in Washington of the evil empire and of us living in a pre-war, not a post-war period.

There were tirades about a limited nuclear war being feasible, while the Soviet Union waged a conventional war in Afghanistan.

Against this background it is amazing what has since grown possible: summit talks; treaties and verification agreement.

These are all concession based not on propaganda subterfuges but on economic constraints, with the result that they are likely to be more reliable in the long term.

We would all deserve our punishment if we were to let this chance pass by without making use of the opportunity it presents.

Yesterday's men see the risks of neutrality and destabilisation, yet neither side has any intention of loosening ties with its respective superpower.

For both of them these ties have come to assume vital importance.

Let doubters be reassured that last week in Vienna the writer was told by influential Austrian politicians of different parties that relations with Budapest were better today than in the days of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

So differences between social systems need be no drawback.

There cannot, of course, be any question of ties between the two parts of Europe along Common Market lines.

But in the long term it ought surely to be possible to build a common roof beneath which both could shelter.

That would have the advantage of Europe carrying greater weight in relation to the superpowers that bear down so heavily on it from both sides.

Any such objective must not, of course, be merely German policy.

It would need to be endorsed by Western Europe as a whole.

Unlike the aim of reunification, this project stands a chance — the sole chance — of achieving the easements envisaged for people in the GDR.

It does so because neither the GDR government nor the SED, its ruling communist party, would be at risk.

This is an aim worth pursuing wholeheartedly because it can be achieved. It needs only a combination of courage, optimism and political imagination.

Marion Gräfin Dönhoff

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 1 April 1988)

GDR leaders face exit wave dilemma

The political leaders of the GDR have apparently been trapped in a dilemma for several months.

In the opinion of Western diplomats the greater leniency shown when handling applications to visit the West has been unable to reduce the number of official applications to leave the GDR for good.

On the contrary, more and more applications are being made by GDR citizens who were previously allowed to visit the West but who returned for family reasons.

The recent arrests of persons who wishing to leave the GDR indicate that Communist Party leaders have adopted a tougher line.

Diplomats, however, doubt whether this will improve the situation.

Since the end of 1987 there have been signs of growing nervousness among top-level state and party officials.

This could increase pressure by the state on persons who, in many cases, can hardly be integrated into East German society. On the other hand, the GDR leaders do not appear to have a concept on how to tackle the problem.

The situation is aggravated by economic difficulties, such as inadequate economic growth and a decline in trade with the Federal Republic of Germany.

Admittedly, diplomatic circles urgently warn against interpreting current events as a crisis or even a crisis of state in the GDR.

Top-level changes in the state and party apparatus are also not on the agenda.

The subject of who should succeed the almost 76-year-old general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party (SED) and state council chairman, Erich Honecker, is not as great a taboo as it was one year ago.

The GDR will always have to come to terms with a certain percentage of citizens who wish to turn their backs on the country, diplomats say.

How this problem is solved is, moreover, a survival problem. One possible approach could be to seek solutions together with the Church.

The final decision following such cooperation, of course, would be taken by Herr Honecker.

At the moment, however, the state shows a preference for trying to "drain" the problem and intimidate people who wish to leave the country and try to draw public attention to their activities.

It looks as if the tougher line has been adopted by the SED Politburo rather than the more lenient approach.

It is still not clear, however, how controversial this approach is within the Communist Party itself.

There may be differences of opinion on the means selected to achieve

Continued on page 6

■ PROFILE

Shepard Stone, 80, untiring intermediary and promoter of German-American ties

"By the way," said Shepard Stone, outgoing director of the Berlin Aspen Institute, "this was my last meeting as chairman, the last Aspen conference in my capacity as director of the institute."

Laconically, and with typically proud understatement, he added that he would return "if my successors can put up with me as a visitor."

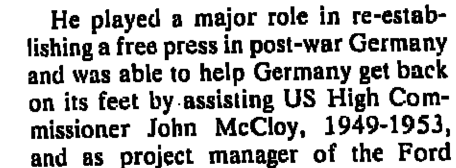
The members of the two study groups, on Germany and the United States, who had gathered at the Aspen Institute to discuss the future of German-American relations, responded to Stone's words of farewell with an untypical round of applause.

It was a spontaneous yet somwhat hapless gesture towards a current affairs personality who found words of nonchalance to hand over his life's work as if it were just some everyday occurrence.

The Aspen spirit of research, exploration, empathy and astute analysis is not usually given to emotion or sentimentality.

However, on this 21 March at 4.45 p.m. there was probably no-one among the thirty or so persons present who did not feel the kind of historical melancholy which grips everyone when they witness the changing of the guard.

It was a change-over from a founder generation to the generation of successors, what Ingeborg Bachmann calls the

deferred time at the end of a chapter in contemporary history.

Shepard Stone, who was 80 on 31 March, still has an aura of unspent freshness.

The momentum which he gave to the numerous activities he stimulated at the Berlin Aspen Institute he founded in 1974 will continue to attest to the untiring nature of his initiative.

Stone made early provision for a first-class successor — something which cannot be said of all founder figures.

David Anderson, the former US ambassador in Belgrade, one of Stone's longstanding friends and, more recently, Warburg professor of international relations at Simmons College in Boston, will make an outstanding new director.

Anderson has brilliant expertise on Germany, a love of the country and its language, and — last but not least — a German wife (as does Stone).

Anderson, therefore, will guarantee continuity in more than one respect.

The Berlin Senate organised two days of celebrations as a thank you for Stone's activities. His departure means more than just the loss of the director of the Aspen Institute.

He played a major role in re-establishing a free press in post-war Germany and was able to help Germany get back on its feet by assisting US High Commissioner John McCloy, 1949-1953, and as project manager of the Ford Foundation.

He was also involved in setting up the Free University in West Berlin.

Stone was frequently honoured in Bonn, by the Berlin Senate (he became a freeman of the city of Berlin in 1983), by universities and other bodies.

Like many other members of his generation, to whom we owe the fundamental consolidation of German-American post-war relations, Shepard Stone has rendered outstanding services to Germany.

The words of appreciation for these services so readily spoken at official ceremonies only give a rough idea of the true extent of his achievement and devotion.

But what really makes up the personality of this man, his impact and his personal aura?

In all probability, his deep humanity, reflected in his humour, his composure, and, above all, in his tremendous ability to differentiate when dealing with human beings and the contradictions of their activities.

No-one has benefited more from Stone's humanitarian talents than the Germans, in whose history he has been involved three times.

The first stage relates to the years 1929 to 1933.

In the same year in which Alfred Döblin's novel *Berlin Alexanderplatz* was published a 21-year-old graduate of Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire, arrived in the German capital.

He was sent there by his professor (instead of to Oxford, where he really wanted to go) after being told: "You must go to Berlin, the place where everything will happen."

The young American immediately took an interest in the cultural pleasures of the outgoing Weimar epoch, whether in the form of a Furtwängler concert, a Max Reinhardt production or a cabaret performance by Marlene Dietrich.

With the eagerness to learn so typical of his fellow Americans — often misleadingly labelled "naive" by the oversatiated Europeans — he absorbed the culture he later called "the first Germany."

Although he also witnessed the other Germany with its mounting political brutality he secretly believed that "the first Germany" would win through.

As late as mid-1933, as a Berlin University PhD-holder, he gave a lecture in his home town of Nashua, New Hampshire, claiming that Hitler and his party would on no account gain power.

This well-meaning wishful thinking was rooted in a deep sense of the immanence of the values he had become familiar with in his dealings with the best Berlin families (he eventually married into the Hasenclever-Jaffe family) as well as with the still pure academic teachings.

This feeling for "the first Germany" accompanied Shepard Stone throughout his life.

It helped to develop a kind of inner nobility enabling him to resist the all too



Shepard Stone

(Photo: dpa)

understandable temptations of hatred and bitterness later on.

Even when he was employed as a reporter and publisher of the *New York Times* between 1933 and 1939 his reports on Germany remained committed to an objective analysis of history.

This ability to differentiate also determined his activities in post-war Germany.

With a clear hint of amusement in his voice Stone often spoke of those who all claimed to have been "anti-Nazis" after the war. Yet he never presumed to pass collective judgement.

He concentrated on "the first Germany", his activities spurred on by the passion to reconstruct.

He issued licences to publish newspapers in Germany to Theodor Heuss in 1945 and to Felix Eckardt and many others who were later to become famous publicists and politicians.

It was in the Berlin Aspen Institute that Shepard Stone's unique noblesse developed its style-setting quality. This was his third rendezvous with Germany.

Long before German foundations learned how to open their circles to all political directions (some still find this difficult today) Stone had housed the whole world under the roof of a free exchange of ideas in his institute on the Wannsee island of Schwanenwerder.

East and West, left-wing and right-wing — the "close encounters of the third kind" often turned into exciting discharges of historical tension.

However, the manner in which the discussions were held had a humanising effect on the atmosphere.

No-one sitting at the Aspen conference table was able to evade the impact of this phenomenon.

The fact that Berlin was the home of such a spirit gives hope to the city and its future.

Is there now a danger that Shepard Stone will take his many contacts with political, business and cultural circles with him when he retires to his farm in Vermont? Not at all.

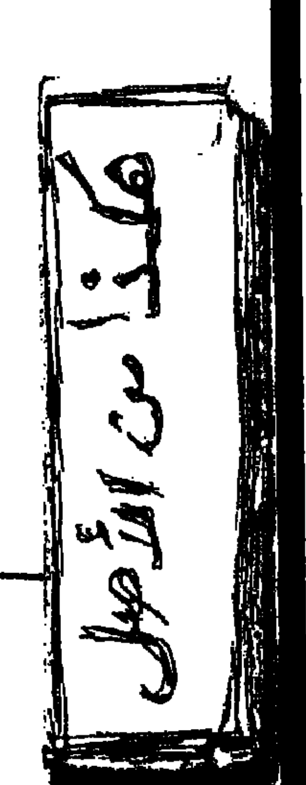
The John F. Kennedy School for Government at Harvard has told Stone that an office and a secretariat are waiting for him in Boston.

In return, it is hoped that Stone will engage in fund-raising activities for the McCloy Scholars Program, whose activities are devoted to the study of transatlantic, in particular German-American, ties.

The retiring director of the Aspen Institute, therefore, will remain an active *éminence grise* — a comforting thought for all those (not least for Stone himself) who do not want to see such a fruitful chapter of contemporary history come to an end.

Thomas Kielinger

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 25 March 1988)



■ TRADE TIES

Japanese firms feel at home in Hamburg and Europe

Every weekday morning when groups of small, snub-nosed, black-haired boys and girls giggle and chatter as they wait for the school bus in the high-class residential suburb of Blankenese, Hamburg people are reminded that their city is a hub of trade between Europe and Japan.

Neon logos at the local offices of Japanese firms such as Panasonic, Bridgestone, Sharp, Konica, Yamaha, Hitachi, Casio, Omron, Pentax, Olympus, Citizen and Yashica are as much part of the Hamburg skyline as those of local firms such as Rotring, Still or Beiersdorf.

The 125 Japanese trading companies and production facilities in locations grouped round the Port of Hamburg employ a payroll of 5,000.

Japanese companies are appreciative of ties with Hamburg that have grown organically over the past 150 years. The large warehouses and distribution facilities they have set up in the free port testify to their feeling that Hamburg is a reliable partner and location..

Many Japanese executives, some of whom have worked in the city for 30 years, have developed an emotional attachment to Hamburg and its environs.

They see membership of and committee work for the chamber of commerce and industrial associations as a matter of course, and they feel equally at home on the governing bodies of the Schleswig-Holstein music festival or the Haus Rissen study centre.

When a Hamburg Economic Affairs Senator fails to visit the stand of a Hamburg-based Japanese firm at the Hanover Fair, its executives immediately start to wonder what they have done wrong.

The Senator, or the Mayor, is expected to visit their group head offices in Tokyo, Osaka or Yokohama at least every other year.

Both sides feel it is a great pity there are still no direct flights between Hamburg and Japan.

Morihisa Kaneko, manager of Panasonic Deutschland GmbH, particularly regrets the lack of direct flights. As a regular commuter he would greatly appreciate them.

Panasonic is a subsidiary of Matsushita in Osaka and a billion-deutschemark turnover giant in Hamburg.

Kaneko, 51, represents the second generation of Japanese executives in the Federal Republic of Germany. He stands for the new corporate strategy of cooperation on the basis of partnership with the host country.

In Hamburg, a city with a traditional reputation for economic liberalism, the Matsushita company anthem has never been played.

The clan ideology of Japanese companies, their fostering of corporate identity, is equally low-key: staff wear a small lapel badge.

Company policy in Germany is in strict accordance with the motto "as much integration as possible." Panasonic Deutschland sees itself as "a German company like any other."

The parent company, Matsushita Electric GmbH (to use its German name), set up in business in Hamburg in 1962. Both the company's profile and the range of products it sells have changed over the years.

In its early days a mere five products were sold. They consisted of items such as dynamos and torches.

The Panasonic range now comprises 75 groups of articles. They extend from household and office machinery to telecom and entertainment electronics.

Well over 30 per cent of turnover in Germany is accounted for by video equipment, 20 per cent by audio equipment and 10 per cent by other electrical goods. Over 30 per cent is manufactured at German production facilities.

Panasonic executives are not amused at references to "screwdriver production" (meaning the mere assembly in a host country of products mainly manufactured in Japan).

They point out that well over two thirds of Panasonic video recorder components are made in Germany.

In 1983 a video recorder factory was set up at Osterode in the Harz as a joint venture with Robert Bosch GmbH of Stuttgart.

Year by year new production facilities have been set up to manufacture tuners, electronic components, car radios and electric motors for photocopiers and typewriters. Panasonic now employs nearly 2,000 people at six German factories and branch offices.

They are convinced the future lies with integrated home and office communication systems combining telephones, computers, monitor screens and remote control and programming of household equipment.

Growth is expected to result less from specialising in any one group of articles, such as audio equipment, than from technological breadth and depth of application.

Matsushita is keen to counteract European complaints that trade with Japan is a one-way street. Panasonic Deutschland, in common with associates in other European countries, plans to boost sales of German products via group marketing facilities in Japan.

Fine though this may sound in one respect, it is viewed with reservations by long-established Hamburg trading companies worried that leading Japanese firms will deprive them of the share of the Japanese market they have fought so hard for over the years.

The overwhelming majority of German trade-name consumer goods that are now selling well in response to Japanese demand for European consumer products can well do without the assistance of leading Japanese companies. Sales networks of their own are usually more profitable.

The yen revaluation in recent months is said in Hamburg to have made a greater contribution toward making German-Japanese trade a two-way street than all declarations of intent by the Japanese government put together.

The yen revaluation ought also soon to lead to other Hamburg-based Japanese subsidiaries setting up production facilities in north Germany. Proximity to the market is growing steadily more important in marketing.

Besides, Japanese multinationals feel production facilities of their own in Europe are even more important in drawing a distinction between themselves and the aggressive salesmanship of newly-industrialised Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore.

Franz Wauschkuhn

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 1 April 1988)



Continued from page 1

common market presupposes uniform regulations on these issues, and the strict German regulations cannot be expected to be enforced in countries as different as, say, Denmark and Greece.

Yet olive oil and children's toys, insurance policies and pharmaceutical drugs that comply with Greek or Danish standards can then no longer be withheld from German consumers.

Once educational and vocational qualifications are accepted throughout the European Community a tradesman who plans to set up in business in Germany may no longer need a German master-craftsman's ticket.

That will be an inroad into national privileges. So will the partial transfer of fiscal power to Brussels and the opening of what, in some cases, are strictly regulated national markets, such as telecommunications and public works contracts.

Even so, the risk of the single internal market not coming about is greater than the risk of it doing so.

European industry has lost ground in many important markets in recent years. If the Europeans are not to lag hopelessly behind the Americans, the Japanese and, increasingly, the Koreans and the Chinese they must dispense with the doubtful luxury of 12 national markets rather than a single internal market.

This particularly applies to small firms which, unlike large companies, cannot afford bureaucratic set-ups of their own to handle national red tape.

The 1992 deadline entails risks for both entrepreneurs and consumers, but it mainly presents an opportunity of demonstrating that the European Community is more than an inefficient and inordinately expensive common agricultural market.

This proof ought not to need demonstrating by 1992. The founding fathers of the European Community, Konrad Adenauer and Robert Schuman, envisaged a single internal market over 30 years ago. But miracles are simply not wrought overnight in Europe.

Uwe Vorkötter

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 8 April 1988)

Continued from page 4

desired ends. Diplomats feel that the current approach in the GDR is the result of coordination with other Warsaw Pact states.

In this context, reference is made to the unrest in Soviet Armenia and the action by Czechoslovakian authorities against dissidents.

On the other hand, diplomats point out, the GDR and its allies can have no great interest in making themselves a possible target for Western criticism in the field of human rights at the CSCE review meeting. In the wake of recent events Bonn has also warned the GDR against burdening intra-German relations.

It is generally felt that the latest development has certainly made dialogue more difficult between the two German states,

So far, however, the action taken by the GDR authorities against persons wishing to leave the country would not appear to have triggered repercussions for practical cooperation between the two.

Volker Warkentin

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 9 March 1988)

■ INDUSTRY

Wolfsburg — the city VW built

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

Wolfsburg celebrates its 50th birthday as the home of Volkswagen and the Federal Republic's equivalent to Detroit this year.

It would be quite appropriate if the city had a stylised Beetle car in its coat of arms instead of a stylised wolf.

The celebrations, drawn up by Mayor Werner Schlimme, Town Clerk Peter Lamburg and their staff, will continue until late autumn.

The list of events includes a church service, sporting events, concerts, art exhibitions and lectures. In summer the high point of the programme will be a week-long "Citizens' Week" for young and old.

There will also be a memorial service for those who were driven into forced labour during the Nazi regime and who died in Wolfsburg. Their fate has almost been forgotten.

Wolfsburg is only a few kilometres from the frontier with the German Democratic Republic. When the automobile city was "born" big names in the Nazi regime were godparent to the city devoted to manufacturing the People's Car.

Adolf Hitler, Hermann Göring and Albert Speer decided in 1937-1938 to establish a car industry in Wolfsburg, close to the Mittelland Canal, not too far from the Salzgitter blast furnaces, plus a large housing estate for the workers.

The car had been designed by Ferdinand Porsche. A prototype had been undergoing endurance trials. It would cost 1,000 marks, well within the means of ordinary people.

Hundreds of thousands dreamed of owning this car, thanks to a sophisticated propaganda campaign, which would take them "along the Führer's roads," that is the autobahns, to Germany's beauty spots.

With a confidence in a future that soon turned sour and that their children certainly did not share, people paid out five marks as a down-payment on a car.

The company was owned by Robert Ley, head of the German Labour Front. He acquired the property of the broken-up trades unions in 1933. At the end of 1938 the name was changed to Volkswagen GmbH.

The German Labour Front's best-known sub-division was the Strength through Joy organisation (Kraft durch Freude or KdF) set up to arrange holidays and leisure pursuits for Germans.

The new city was given the abbreviation of the Kraft durch Freude organisation and was known as Kdf City.

This name was given the new city. Its birthday was gazetted in Lüneburg as 1 July 1938.

The history of the car plant parallels the history of the city. The Counts von der Schulenberg had to vacate the site where in March 1938 accommodation barracks were built for the men involved in building plans and management. A little later Hitler laid the foundation stone for the plant at Allertal.

While the construction sheds were going up the first steps in the construction of the city were made. By 1942 there were 2,600 homes ready for people to move in but building was suspended and only accommodation for forced labourers was put up.

Soon the first "KdF car" rolled off the production line, manufactured with the most modern machinery available at the time, purchased with costly foreign exchange in the USA.

The cars were shaped like an egg and had a distinctive suspension unit and an air-cooled, rear-mounted engine. They looked like what later they were to be called — "Beetles."

When the Second World War began, production was switched. Surprisingly only spare parts were made there, petrol tanks for planes for instance and special parts for tanks, but not mass-produced cars for which the plant was designed.

The cars that were produced there were nicknamed "Wehrmacht buckets" or "floating cars." They proved themselves in all weathers on all fronts and established an indestructible reputation for being an unconventional car, which had been designed on Ferdinand Porsche's drawing-board in 1934.

At the end of the war the barracks in the half-completed city were occupied by refugees and escapees who had little more than the clothes they wore.

Bombing raids had taken their toll of the plant but had not destroyed it completely.

British Army officers arranged for military vehicles of the Rhine Army to be repaired there from 1945 onwards. They ordered that the parts left of the almost forgotten "KdF Car" were to be assembled for the occupying powers and the German postal service.

At the beginning of 1948 the British appointed Heinrich Nordhoff to be head of the Volkswagen factory. Under his management it became a symbol of the German economic miracle.

Nordhoff died in 1968, but during his management he clung to the VW car concept of which millions were sold. Naturally after a quarter of a century it had aged.

His obstinate policy as regards models produced almost drove the company into bankruptcy in the 1970s, which would have been a catastrophe for Wolfsburg.

The company had long compensated Third Reich savers who had not been supplied with the car they had been promised.

At a discussion with Brunswick architect students arranged by the daily *Wolfsburger Allgemeine* last year Peter Koller said that the founders of Wolfsburg had no idea how to establish a city.

He was born in Vienna in 1907 and helped form the history of the city just as Nordhoff had done.

The "KdF city" name was dropped on 22 June 1945 and the name of a neighbouring castle adopted, Wolfsburg.

Koller was appointed head of planning for the city in 1938. He was in charge of costing and design until 1942 when the last worker was drafted into the army.

He was called up and became a prisoner-of-war. When he returned after the war he continued his work where he had left off. At first he worked as an independent architect and then as city architect in Wolfsburg. As the production figures at the plant increased rapidly so the city expanded.

Koller had the unique chance of creating a city from green fields without having to give a thought to buildings already standing or roads already laid out.

He became professor of architecture in Berlin in 1960 but he was responsible for making Wolfsburg an example of city planning.

Architects from all over the world come to Wolfsburg to find out what he

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Ludwigshafen — where BASF is anything but a four-letter word



Ludwigshafen has a population of 162,000 and has the highest tax revenue of any local authority in the Rhineland-Palatinate.

It is also a city deeply involved in the chemicals industry through BASF.

Formerly Wolfsburg was the example of a city whose name was synonymous with one company, Volkswagen. This applies now to Ludwigshafen and BASF to the same degree.

In the immediate post-war years there were a circle of other chemicals factories around BASF. But now only detergent manufacturers Joh. A. Benckiser GmbH have an administrative office and research facilities in Ludwigshafen.

Production was shifted when the factory's grounds were required for the construction of the Ludwigshafen railway station.

The shares held by the family that founded Knoll AG, formerly an independent pharmaceuticals firm, were sold to BASF.

Gebr. Giulini, a Ludwigshafen firm that used to challenge Benckiser's claim to be Germany's oldest chemicals company — both firms were founded in 1823 —, came to grief when it tried to relaunch an aluminium works.

The company's business interests were sold or are carried on in Ludwigshafen by Alcon Chemie or Israel Chemicals.

Grünzweig & Hartmann, formerly manufacturers of insulating materials, no longer has production facilities in Ludwigshafen, only an administrative office.

Apart from the medium-sized firms Woellner-Werke and the BASF customer Türmerleim, the only company remaining of the old Ludwigshafen chemicals companies is Raschig AG, manufacturers of road-marking materials and specialised chemicals.

There is still an active group of BASF auxiliary suppliers, and a few valiant

Leading trade taxpayer

medium-sized companies have held their own, including the manufacturer of water-meters, Spanner-Pollux GmbH.

But new industrial enterprises with no connection with the chemicals industry, have not been established in Ludwigshafen.

Industries of the future such as synthetics, genetic engineering and information systems are part of the BASF organisation or its associates.

Officials in Ludwigshafen's Town Hall say that the city would be nothing without BASF. Figures show that of the city's industrial turnover of DM19.8bn for 1986, the latest figures available, DM19bn was accounted for by the chemicals industry. More than 90 per cent was achieved by BASF, and this is the lion's share of the group's turnover,

The same is true for tax revenue which is the envy of neighbouring local government authorities. Total trade tax was DM260m in 1986, of which 75 per cent was paid by BASF.

In terms of net tax revenue per capita Ludwigshafen comes second among the Federal Republic's large cities, after Frankfurt.

Ludwigshafen is followed by Düsseldorf, Stuttgart and Munich.

Thanks to BASF's profitability the gross product for Ludwigshafen is almost DM70,000 per head of population (1984 figures), considerably above the average in the Federal Republic of about DM30,000.

Ludwigshafen has been identified with the chemicals industry for more than a century. There are 63,000 employed in trade and industry in Ludwigshafen today, about 90 per cent of them in the chemicals industry, 52,000 by BASF.

The chemicals industry, but the workers rather than the management, is well entrenched in politics.

Ludwigshafen's directly-elected member of the Bundestag is the manager of the local branch of the chemical workers trade union, IG Metall, and not Chancellor Kohl, who comes from Ludwigshafen.

For many years the Chancellor sat on the local government and city council, even when he was Prime Minister of Rhineland-Palatinate.

Ludwigshafen is the gateway to the scenic Palatinate. But despite all its efforts it has not been able to dispel its image as a centre of the chemicals industry responsible for a high degree of environmental pollution.

It has done a lot to improve its infrastructure and its cultural facilities. Philosopher Ernst Bloch was born in Ludwigshafen which is now a long way away from being just an "international railway station" as he called it. He regarded it as "the petty bourgeois Wild West on the Rhine."

Ludwigshafen has become younger, with fewer worries, more relaxed than other cities in the region. It is not so correct and manicured.

No-one will ever try to restructure the city away from the mono-structure of the chemicals industry and the dominance of BASF. It is another matter whether this is vital for the city's future.

How risky is it for a city to be dependent on a single enterprise? To many observers there is no risk. BASF has a production range of 5,000 items and a balanced international distribution of turnover and risks.

Others believe that dependence on a single company is dangerous, irrespective of the company's standing at the present.

For some time the chemicals industry and with it BASF has been regarded as industries geared to the future. These industries will show considerable profits curing people of illness, feeding and clothing them and their contribution to human well-being is far from exhausted yet.

Demand for chemical products has never dried up, either as a result of oil price increases, the decline of the dollar or environmental proctection considerations.

But there is growing out of environmental protection considerations an uncertainty that could tarnish the chemicals industry's shining prospects.

Ulla Hofmann

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 29 March 1988)

■ AVIATION

Euro-competition between computer booking systems

European airlines look set to split into camps, each using competing new computerised reservation systems.

They have a basic choice between the Amadeus and Galileo systems. Both are based on American know-how, both are competing not only for the services of airlines but also for those of travel agents.

The new systems could make present-day booking practices quickly obsolete. The customer will be king, even if he makes odd or unusual requests.

It will not be just a question of simply flying to New York any more. The system of the future will reserve his seat. A hire car will wait for him at the airport. His hotel room will be reserved in the hotel of his choice.

The hotel receptionist will have tickets for a Broadway show waiting for him. If he wants to fly on to Washington, the computer will take care of the details. At the counter, the customer's most complicated wishes will be processed in seconds.

Four airlines were the founding partners of Amadeus. They were Air France, Iberia, Lufthansa and SAS. Since then Finnair, Sweden's Lynjeflyg, France's Air Inter, Jugoslavenski Aerotransport, Yugoslavia's Adria Airways, Norway's Braathens SAFE and Icelandair have joined.

These airlines carry 90 million passengers yearly and fly a fleet of 600 aircraft.

The airlines which opted for Galileo fly 60 million passengers yearly. They are British Airways, KLM, Swissair, Covia, Austrian Airlines, British Caledonian Airways, Alitalia, Aer Lingus, Portugal's TAP and Sabena of Belgium.

The new systems will incorporate the airlines' old booking and reservation systems.

The Start system respresents Lufthansa at many German travel agencies. About 2,400 travel agencies use Start terminals for booking and to relay Lufthansa offers to their customers. They confirm bookings and issue tickets.

The Esterel, Savia and Smart sytems, which are used by French, Spanish and Scandanavian airlines respectively, are run on similar principles.

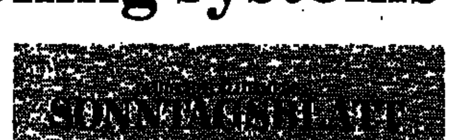
Members of the Galileo group also have modern systems. Alitalia sells its tickets through Sigma, Austrian airlines through Travi-Austria and KLM through Corda.

If the national booking systems link up by way of Amadeus and Galileo, then two efficient groups will confront each other. Time will tell whether this benefits the consumer.

Hans Dieter Färber, vice-president of Amadeus, suggests a "technical link" of the two systems. He said it was important for them to come to an agreement soon.

Mike Thorne, Galileo's marketing head, thinks cooperation will take time. Each system will have to establish itself, reach full capacity and exploit market potential. Only then will one see which is the stronger system.

Both systems will be out to prove that they can link up with partners abroad. They have the lucrative American market in their sights. Amadeus has found



an important partner in Eastern Airlines and Galileo in United Airlines.

But neither system will be just content with reserving airline tickets. Other partners in other branches are extending the range of services. Amadeus is proud of its contacts with more than 15,000 travel agencies in Europe, Africa, North, Central and South America.

But still more hotels, travel organisers, car-hire firms and ferry firms are waiting to be won. Amadeus will serve 12,000 to 15,000 hotels and 20 car hire firms in the initial stages.

Galileo is remaining quiet on figures but believes it rivals Amadeus. Mr Thorne said: "When the Galileo core system is fully operational, it will process 1,500 transactions per second.

"By 1990, the system will have a yearly turnover of 657 million bookings. Then we are reckoning with five per cent more growth in flights and 11 per cent in other travel-related bookings."

The new booking and reservation systems are tolling the end of aviation services which traditionally began and ended at the airport.

From March 1989 Amadeus will book plane tickets, hotel reservations and hire cars.

The second phase will start in July. Airlines will then be able, among other things, to reserve certain seats on certain airlines.

The Galileo system has announced it will start in the middle of 1988.

So will Europe be split into two powerful aviation markets travellers can only approach via Amadeus or Galileo? In reality joining up with one of the two dominant systems will mean having certain restrictions.

But if inconveniences irritate customers, the two giants will have to merge their technologies. Essentially this means one system will check out trips the other has on offer.

It will be years before the two systems can overlap bookings and confirmation of bookings.

Against a background of a liberalising European aviation market, the development of such overlapping systems makes sense. Overlapping would increase the capacity of the market.

It is pointless for airlines to have more seats available if they cannot offer them to customers at short notice.

The computer systems will give priority to such services. The better and more efficient airlines' services are, the better airlines can utilise their capacities, and the greater is their economic success.

But Amadeus and Galileo will be more than mere tools in a war of giants. They will change fundamentally the world of travel and its accepted features.

Travel agencies and holiday organisers will have a new position in the market.

Business or holiday travel will be largely designed and organised in travel agencies. They will be able to confirm immediately the necessary bookings and reservations.

Jaguar, an American programme, will expand services via hotels and holiday apartments to liner cruises and round-trip voyages.

Amadeus and Lufthansa managers have clearly indicated, that in this context, under certain circumstances, they will not make allowances for traditional business relations.

In a certain way the two systems have committed themselves to neutrality. The Federal Cartel Office will keep an eye on practices which, for purely economic reasons, give preference to partner firms.

Amadeus has therefore guaranteed that "all information on the product will be depicted objectively and impartially." This means there will be no preferential treatment for any airline. Travel agents' terminal screens will show the quickest connection for any destination requested.

However, cautiousness raises the question of whether or not terminals could show the cheapest possible flight. Many a tourist would be interested in knowing that.

Organisers of all-inclusive tours are worried about the new systems. If travel agencies can quickly work out detailed holidays for the customer, then the customer is bound to take their offer.

Travelling businessmen, who know the system's advantages, will probably arrange their holidays with the travel agent as well. If that happens then holiday organisers will lose a lot of business.

But large organisers like Tourist Union International have remained silent. This could mean they have a strategy up their sleeve.

Alfred Zerban

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 27 March 1988)

More flights to Berlin

The Berlin Senate's wish to see Tegel airport modernised and enlarged has come true sooner than expected.

Not long ago politicians were complaining about lack of competition and unsatisfactory service. Now Mayor Diepgen is warning of uninhibited competition.

He says airline capacities would not be fully utilised, with the result that routes between West Berlin and West Germany would become uneconomic.

Formerly there were three Allied airlines operating out of West Berlin. Now there are eight, and two others are threatening to enter a market which has grown as a result of the publicity surrounding Berlin's conference city status and its 750th anniversary.

In view of the new importance of Tegel airport, aviation attaches at the British, French and American embassies are understandably having difficulty channelling West Germany's airways — already overcrowded — and air service time-tables according to traditional policy.

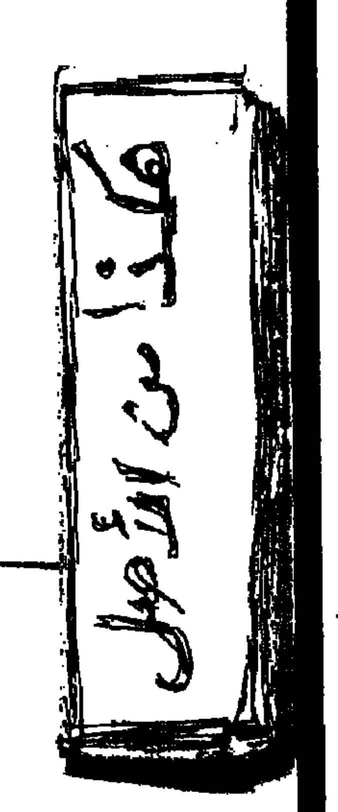
After Air France, British Airways, and Pan Am's longstanding monopoly expired, these three sought first of all to get back into business on the profitable Munich, Düsseldorf and Cologne routes.

The British succeeded at their first attempt. The Americans still are having wait.

Newcomers such as Trans World Airlines, American Airlines and Delta Airlines are standing in the queue.

The liberalisation of Europe's aviation market is making waves that are breaking wash as far away as Berlin.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 29 March 1988)



■ ENVIRONMENT

European conference probes urban pollution in Hanover

There is nothing new about the dictum that environmental protection should begin at home — and in one's own back yard, figuratively speaking.

Cities and towns are no mean producers of pollution. It ranges from vehicle emission to toxic waste dumps on the outskirts of town to aggressive detergents and oily waste water from filling stations.

Yet most people in positions of responsibility have eyes only for the North Sea and the holes punched in the ozone shield in the upper atmosphere.

In Britain a neat acronym has been coined to describe this phenomenon. It is referred to as the Nimby Syndrome. Nimby stands for "not in my back yard," the implication being that everything in one's own garden is lovely — and everyone else is to blame for the pollution.

The truth is that everything in most gardens is anything but lovely, and still less so in many towns, as a three-day conference in Hanover was told.

Several hundred experts met there for the first European conference on urban ecological planning and research, held under the aegis of the city of Hanover and the German Institute of Urban Affairs.

The conference venue was also chosen because Hanover is the scene of a full-scale ecological research programme heavily subsidised by the Federal Research Ministry.

The programme has completed its planning stage and the Federal government is keen to learn more about results and findings. So are local authorities.

Project scientists may have been able to learn from mistakes made in comparable research programmes, but their task will still not be easy.

An ecological pilot project in Ingolstadt, Bavaria, came to grief because experts were unable to agree on the criteria by which pollution was to be judged.

Even assuming work progresses far enough for data and findings to be published, can there be any guarantee that politicians will be able to make anything of them?

This was one of the key issues dealt with at the conference. "We need target-orientated research, not basic research," Bonn Research Minister Heinz Riesenhuber told the assembled environmentalists and administrators.

Quoting Goethe, he added: "Where scholarship begins, politics comes to an end." This distinction could only be forestalled by environmental data being made available fast and at reasonable cost to be used as a basis for political decisions.

The Hanover project is designed to comply with this requirement. It is based on a practical environmental information system that is planned as a view-at-a-glance compendium of relevant data rather than an incomprehensible flood of figures.

Measurements of atmospheric pollution will be accompanied by data relating to soil, water and biotopes.

The techniques used will be both faster and less expensive. Water quality, for instance, will be specified in exact analytical detail on the river bank or lake shore.

No matter how chemically pure a water sample may be, biological analy-



sis makes it possible to draw precise inferences as to past inputs of toxins.

Computers will be used to combine these and other measurements and display them graphically.

Hanover was not a white spot on the map where environmental measurements of this kind were concerned. Biotopes, woodland and waterways had already been charted and graded in pollution terms. Besides, the city is linked to a countrywide environmental computer network.

Sixteen research institutes and official departments are associated with the research programme that is now being launched. They all hope their practical findings will have practical repercussions for the environment.

Professor Hans Kiemstedt of Hanover University said scientists should be entitled to issue instructions binding on local government.

Local government officials were not amused. "Decision-making does not come within the scientists' purview," said a senior official, Herr Lehmann-Grube of Hanover.

So it will be interesting to see not only what findings come to light but what political repercussions they have. Herr Riesenhuber sounded an optimistic note.

Public interest in environmental affairs, he said, had grown to such an extent that scientific recommendations could be given a high priority rating.

He expected the Hanover programme both to yield information on where the sensitive urban eco-system was particularly hard-hit and to provide the Federal government and local authorities with assistance in reaching political decisions.

"We'll tell you afterwards how much it has cost," he told journalists.

A similar programme is under way in Lucerne. Swiss environmental affairs commissioner Hans-Niklas Müller told the conference.

Several research institutes in Lucerne have joined forces in quantifying the environmental burden imposed on the city by the Hamburg-Genoa autobahn. Data are to be converted into guidelines for use in civic planning.

In view of civic interest Lucerne already boasts both a mobile environmental information centre and an ecological forum where people can find out more about local streets and trees without having to unearth the facts from inaccessible archives.

In Maastricht, Holland, the desire for a direct link between research findings and political decisions has resulted in the environment policy integration project.

In Holland too, however, it remains to be seen how willing the planners will be to act on the data supplied by ecological field workers.

Comparisons between programmes under way in various European cities could hardly be drawn in Hanover. The problems faced differ too widely from country to country and, for that matter, from city to city.

In Greater London, for instance, 120 scientists are working mainly on atmospheric pollution. Their concern is with the 100,000 vehicles a day that use the M 2 motorway.

The British government spends over DM100m a year on research into and work on the causes and effects of atmospheric pollution in Greater London.

Environmental protection has long been an economic factor, and the Hanover conference was able to see for itself that serious competition is involved.

On an ecological tour of the city delegates visited the oil-polluted Deurag-Nerag site, where several contractors have set microbes to work on the heavy metals that pollute the soil.

The company with the microbes that devour heavy metals fastest and at the least expense will be awarded the contract. While one part of the site still has an oily smell, another already smells of vegetation.

Ecological reclamation can seldom be illustrated so vividly. Maybe that was why the European conference on urban environmental research ended less on a note of euphoria than on a combination of hope and scepticism.

Volker Hagedorn

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 5 March 1988)

Eco-hothouse — the shape of things to come

Rainfall was so heavy and widespread in Germany last year that mention of climate changes falls on ready ears, especially now both physicists and meteorologists have sounded a warning note.

Atmospheric research takes a dim and dramatic view of the future.

Serious warnings about the atmospheric hothouse effect of carbon monoxide, methane, fluorochlorohydrocarbons, nitric oxides and ozone in the upper atmosphere have so far been more or less limited to the next 30 to 50 years.

An Anglo-American research group has now succeeded in identifying what it sees as a signal in the general confusion of climatological data which is felt to herald a new weather era rather than mere fluctuation.

It is not just an increase in atmospheric temperature all over the world or the temperature of the water masses in the world's oceans.

Research scientists at the University of East Anglia, Norwich, have quantified a gradual increase in temperature of 0.7°C since 1861, but this fact (as opposed to the exact figure) has been general knowledge for some time.

What is new is confirmation of the fact that precipitation, or rainfall, has undergone clear and definite worldwide changes too.

The findings indicate that hothouse forecasts are already beginning to come true. Atmospheric research findings have been published in *Science*, the US magazine.

Between the 35th and 70th parallels, or the temperate zone of the northern hemisphere, rainfall is said to have been markedly heavier over the past 40 years than in earlier recorded history.

Between the fifth and 35th parallels, especially in North Africa, there has been a corresponding decline in rainfall. A British scientist, bearing in mind computer forecasts relating to the hothouse effect, feels these figures are a foretaste of the future.

The link between the hothouse effect and changes in rainfall patterns is self-evident. The atmospheric hothouse makes more seawater evaporate, influencing both rainfall and atmospheric circulation in its entirety.

This reciprocal relationship can be traced throughout climate history. The only distinction is that the increase in temperature will vary from region to region, just as rainfall trends have already varied from region to region.

Research scientists have drawn up a mathematical base line for every part of the world. It is based on rainfall records from all over the northern hemisphere since the mid-19th century.

Rainfall has lately tended to increase in the United States, Europe and the Soviet Union, whereas it has declined, in some cases drastically, in North Africa and the Middle East.

There have been no significant fluctuations from the base line in the equatorial tropics.

Hans Georgii and Joachim Trümper, presidents of the German Meteorological Society and the German Physical Society, recently issued a joint statement in which they made the following forecast:

"The present arid zones in northern Africa, Arabia, Central Asia and southern parts of the United States might move north, transforming the present densely populated, fertile winter rain zones round the Mediterranean, in the United States and in the southern USSR into sub-tropical arid regions."

In Europe seasonal changes have also been noted. Summer months have been customarily low in rainfall, whereas spring and autumn have been much too wet. But the main rainfall increase has been in winter.

With due consideration for statistical circumspection the Federal Republic of Germany seems to correspond to this general trend toward higher rainfall.

Figures for six cities — Hamburg, Berlin, Essen, Mannheim, Stuttgart and Munich — show 1986 to have been over 10 per cent too wet, while last year only three months were below the base line.

The other nine months were up to 50 per cent above the average rainfall between 1951 and 1980. As a result, 1987 was over 20 per cent above average.

The winter that has just drawn to a close was exceptional too, and not just for having been relatively mild. By the end of February winter rainfall was 34 per cent above average nationally.

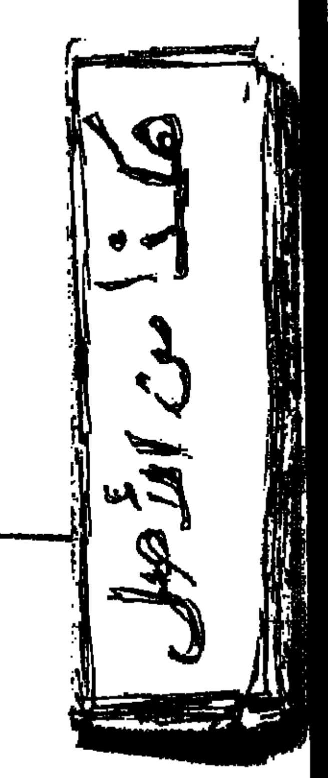
Climatologists sound a warning note. Hartmut Grassl of the Geesthacht Research Centre, near Hamburg, says changes in long-term averages will be accompanied by an increasing number of extremes.

Once fertile agricultural areas are increasingly drought-stricken and others are increasingly flood-hit, scarcer food and higher prices will affect us all.

In sub-tropical arid zones even less rainfall will end human settlement entirely.

Martin Boeckh

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 19 March 1988)



■ WRITING

Roving reporter Kisch died 40 years ago

Kieler Nachrichten

Egon Erwin Kisch was never a breakneck journalist. He rewrote his work before publication as many as five times.

A typewriter did not dominate his life. He preferred to go over his manuscripts with squiggles from a fountain pen. In this way he produced several volumes of his reporting.

Forty years ago he died in his native Prague aged 62. He was one of the best-known journalists of his time.

His father was a cloth merchant in Prague, which at the time was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

As a child he played with a printing set and produced his first journalistic work, a work with the revealing title of "Zeitung."

Then followed his first youthful poems with the Egon changed to Erwin.

So as not to get into any trouble with his strictly moral school he had his first volume of lyrics published under the name "Erwin Kisch," a name that he retained as a second given name.

Thirty books followed his immature poetry, almost all of them factual reports, although he did write a novel and four plays.

He worked at first as a local reporter with the German-language Prague daily, *Bohemia*. During this period he developed his individual style that raised reporting to a high literary level.

Long before the term "investigative journalism" was current he lived as a homeless person in London's slums and signed on as a deckhand on a freighter.

Stern magazine honours excellent reporting with the "Egon Erwin Kisch Prize."

Not much attention was paid to the art of reporting when he began his life as a reporter, not even by his journalist colleagues.

In his memoirs Kisch recalls that the *Feuilleton* editor of *Bohemia* treated his choice of reporting and feature writing contemptuously.

The editor said: "I had other things in mind for him. I would have made a name for him."

Kisch, however, took care of that himself. He revealed the Colonel Redl scandal that shook the Austro-Hungarian Empire to its foundations.

In 1913 he discovered that Colonel Alfred Redl, a homosexual and head of the Austrian secret service, had been working for the Russians.

He became famous at a stroke and he came up against the military again when he was a corporal in the First World War.

His comrades would urge him to "write that down, Kisch," which he did so vividly that his war diary, published as *Schreib das auf, Kisch*, became famous as an anti-war book.

He was founder and leader of the "Rote Garde" in 1918 during the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

He was a member of the Austrian Communist Party, and after a short period in jail the Austrian authorities deported him to Czechoslovakia, which



Egon Erwin Kisch, 1885-1948 (Photo: AP)

had become independent in the meantime.

In 1921 he moved to Berlin. Up to 1933 he published 15 books there, writing in addition for about 20 newspapers and magazines.

Kisch worked hard and played hard in Berlin. In Prague he had already become a leading light in the city's nightlife. He drank the nights away in the company of Jaroslav Hasek, author of *The Good Soldier Schweik*.

Because of his inexhaustible stock of stories and rhymes he was always welcome in pubs and coffee shops. He said of himself that he was a "parish pump patriot."

In 1926 Kisch began *Abenteuer in fünf Kontinenten*, a series of short travelogues inspired by his trips abroad.

He saw *Changing Asia, Paradies Amerika* and made his famous *Australian Landfall*.

He was barred from attending an anti-war congress in Melbourne, but he jumped over the ship's railings, broke a leg and was allowed to stay. After his first visit to the Soviet Union Marxism-Leninism was the lodestar of his life. He was a convinced Communist and when the Nazis came to power in 1933 he was one of the first to be arrested. Recalling February 1933 he wrote: "In the evening the Reichstag went up in flames and on the following morning I was arrested." But he had more luck than many who thought as he did. After Czech intervention he was deported. He went into exile, firstly in France. Kisch took part in the Spanish Civil War in 1937-1938. After the outbreak of the Second World War he went to the United States and later to Mexico (from 1940 to 1946).

Full of enthusiasm for the future of Communism he returned to Prague in 1946. But his plans for new book projects came to nothing. Kisch, a chain-smoker, suffered a stroke from which he never recovered.

News of his death astonished his many friends, particularly the writer Anna Seghers. Her first reaction was a letter to the dead man.

She wrote: "Dear Kisch, people say you are dead. Kisch, what idiotic ideas your journalist friends have and what tall stories people will believe!"

Hans-Jürgen Moritz/AP

(Kieler Nachrichten, 26 March 1988)

Bavarian farmer's wife writes runaway rural bestseller

Anna Wimschneider is 69, a farmer's wife and the author of a bestseller.

In her home in Schwarzenstein, near Pfarrkirchen, Lower Bavaria, a map of Germany hangs on the wall. Husband Albert Wimschneider has stuck coloured pins all over it and tells visitors proudly that every coloured blob represents a place where his wife Anna "has appeared" over the past few months.

More blobs will be appearing over the next few months, because Anna travels a lot — this time to Westerland on the North Sea island of Sylt.

But she is also booked to appear in Bolzano in southern Tyrol. She has attended 150 "Evenings with an author."

Her book has quite changed her world. She said: "Yes, indeed, my life has changed. It has become more lively, more fun." Her memoirs, published with the title *Herbstmilch*, has been so successful that she cannot herself quite believe it.

Her publishers, Piper Verlag of Munich, have sold 80,000 copies of the book (excluding paperback sales). They have told her that a film is to be made of the book and later an illustrated edition of the book of the film will follow.

She has appeared in more than a dozen television shows and has been interviewed in talkshows. She has been a prominent guest in the "Montagsmaler" weekly TV programme on the arts and artists.

Her husband has two fat files of press clippings on her and her work. He stopped counting the articles about her when he got to 200.



Anna Wimschneider, 66, and husband Albert (Photo: teutopress)

"Everyone has been so nice to me. The most wonderful thing the book has done for me is to have brought me into contact with so many nice people," she said in her old-style kitchen as she prepared lunch.

It goes without saying that every visitor is invited to a meal. Visitors are fed well and when they leave they are presented with a packet of home-made cakes "for the journey."

That is part of the Wimschneiders' idea of hospitality and everyone is included in this woman's motherly warmheartedness.

It is not surprising that everyone is charmed by her, not only journalists and publishing people, who turn up at her public appearances in the course of duty as it were, but also ordinary people who attend the "Evenings with an author" all over the country.

Albert said: "The halls are always full. The book is well-known everywhere we go." He keeps his wife's appointments diary.

In her appearances she does not just read from her book, but tells how she came to write it in the winter of 1982.

It started as a private tale told to her three daughters. She recalled her hard youth, work and her unbelievable poverty.

Of her poverty she said: "You had to get used to that from the time you were small or you would never have survived."

As she tells her stories she remembers other events that she had forgotten or that she had regarded as irrelevant.

She said: "The audience is very attentive and quiet. Sometimes older women are reduced to tears."

But the book, a small slice of the wide world told in a homely Bavarian manner, has naturally aroused some jealousy among people who begrudge Anna Wimschneider her rise from her life as a farmer's wife into literary circles.

At least this is what Anna and Albert Wimschneider assumed when they encountered family problems and when some of their neighbours were not as friendly as they used to be after the book appeared.

One relative turned up in print in the local newspaper because of the alleged lies in the book about the family. He put on record that the book was a forgery. He said that the authoress could barely read or write.

The Wimschneiders said that they were badly hurt by this. They pointed to the two large school exercise-books, the manuscript of the book, written in large old-fashioned German script. Albert Wimschneider typed up the manuscript afterwards on an aged typewriter.

He did not complain when his wife wrote about intimate family matters. He said: "It was a bit embarrassing for me, particularly in view of the children, but I let it remain in the book."

An elderly relative, who is a nun and sees the world from a quite different perspective, wrote a long letter full of admonishments to Schwarzenstein. The Wimschneiders said that their nun relative was upset that in the memoirs the priest had not been particularly well treated in the book.

In her kitchen Anna Wimschneider said that the heads of the church had not taken offence. She said that when she was introduced to the Bishop of Regensburg he had complimented her on her book.

While his wife is lionised husband Albert has had to take second place. He said: "Attention has moved to her," adding, however, that he was quite content with his share of fame.

"I am included in everything and I get to know a lot of interesting people," he said. There is an advantage as well. "We shall not be lonely in our old age."

Currently the book is being filmed. A team under the direction of Josef Vilsmeier is working on a feature film of the "memoirs of a farmer's wife."

A village in Czechoslovakia has been selected for location filming. Close to the village church there are farmhouses that look like the buildings the Wim-

Continued on page 11

■ EDUCATION

Seminar on free gangway between universities

Jacques Delors, president of the European Commission, recently drew a picture of the internationalism of future university education.

He said that the day was not far off when a young academic might begin his or her studies in Heidelberg in Germany, continue at Louvain in Belgium and graduate in Paris.

This same student would teach or do research in all three countries.

M. Delors was speaking at a symposium in the Sorbonne, Paris, on European university exchange programmes.

The model for these exchanges is the life of European scholar and theologian Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466-1536).

The symposium was organised by the Paris daily *Le Monde* in collaboration with newspapers in Spain, Italy, Britain and the Netherlands and with the European Commission.

It also dealt with Europe as an economic entity and as an economic competitor with the United States.

A mixed group from Reutlingen College in the Federal Republic, a Spanish commercial college and a British polytechnic live and work together at the Grande Ecole de Commerce, Reims.

Their course of studies lasts four years of which they spend two full years either in Britain, France or Spain, according to their choice.

They will be awarded a dual degree at the end of their studies, for example a Franco-German degree.

They usually have some acquaintance with the other two languages, in this case English and Spanish.

The study courses, which mainly attract girls, have resulted in many friendships and one or two marriages. It goes without saying that as management students they have a better chance of a job because of these courses.

M. Delors said that when the Single Internal Market comes into being in 1992 it would not be "a Europe of small shopkeepers."

It would be a Europe in which there would be a free exchange of ideas and free movement of people, just as in the times of the humanists.

This presupposes, however, a knowledge of languages.

The new president of the German Academic Exchange Service, Theodor Berchem, for many years president of the West German Vice-Chancellors Conference, called for a "Europeanisation" of university studies. A knowledge of languages would play a key role in this.

Every citizen of the European Community should be able to speak at least three languages, Berchem said. He speaks 12 himself.

At the very latest language training must begin in the second stage of schooling and be continued at university in all disciplines.

French Education Minister René Monory agreed. He said greater emphasis would be placed on language teaching in French schools as a prerequisite for university studies and employment abroad.

The Minister said that the goal would be to teach every schoolboy or girl in general school streams two modern languages and one to pupils in vocational schools.

Language training should ideally begin in elementary schools, M. Monory added, but the lack of qualified teachers impeded this.

By the year 2000 France will need an extra 300,000 teachers. It is hoped that by then 74 per cent of French young people will be taking the *baccalauréat*, the French university entrance qualification, instead of the present 42 per cent.

European study courses with a dual degree are very much the exception. West German vocational colleges are well to the fore in this respect. Universities are following behind hesitantly.

Most Erasmus Programmes are modest. At least a year of the total study course should be spent in a partner educational establishment in another European Community country.

German universities have participated in 172 of the 400 or so Erasmus Programmes that have been organised so far, involving 1,273 students from the Federal Republic.

In terms of the 1.4 million total number of students in this country that is just a drop in the ocean.

Many universities are reluctant to participate, but there are one or two linguistic professors, aware of the European dimension, who have forged the first links.

The small Passau University has been particularly active with nine Erasmus Programmes. Saarbrücken University has been involved in the same number.

Berlin's Technical University and Marburg University have each participated in five programmes, and the universities in Bochum, Bremen, Dortmund, Münster, Osnabrück and Paderborn have each been involved in four.

Theodor Berchem said that the more students who registered for courses with a European dimension, the more prepared universities would be to set up such courses. The demand is there but the universities lag behind.

It has been reported that at the last registration deadline in Reutlingen for places in such courses 1,400 students applied for the 40 available. In France there were 5,000 applicants for 35 places. Many good candidates had to be rejected.

The "peripheral" European Community member-countries have so far been poorly represented in these programmes, countries such as Portugal and Greece, undoubtedly on linguistic grounds.

There was considerable discussion in the Sorbonne symposium that Erasmus grants should be made available not only for study courses but also for study-related crash courses in the respective languages.

M. Delors asked who could undertake instruction of this sort better than teachers from the countries themselves.

That is why he and the European commissioner responsible for educational affairs, Señor Marin, made an urgent appeal in Paris for reciprocal recognition of dual degrees and freedom of movement for all academics, including civil servants.

They meant the Federal Republic without actually naming it.

In discussions on the fringe of the symposium astonishment was expressed that other member-countries had a lack of teachers and would willingly take on foreign teachers.

In this respect they showed a greater sympathy for the European idea than the Federal Republic, of all countries, which has a considerable teacher surplus but is reluctant to make reciprocal provisions that would more easily enable unemployed teachers to work abroad.

Brigitte Mohr

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 26 March 1988)

Wolfsburg

Continued from page 7

did and, undoubtedly not without a pang of jealousy here and there, to see that it is possible to harmonise economy and ecology in city planning.

The city has an area of 20,000 hectares, about a tenth of which has been built up. It has a population of 130,000 of which about 13,000 are foreigners.

Wolfsburg, thanks to the affluence of the Volkswagen plant, has a per capita indebtedness of only DM1,028.90, putting it at the top of the league in the Federal Republic. Unemployment is only 7.2 per cent.

But there are worries about the future. Every other citizen in Wolfsburg is employed by Volkswagen. In fact there is only one industrial employer in the city, and Volkswagen is cutting back on its labour force.

There are still vivid memories of the crisis in the 1970s. Everyone in the city is well aware of the risks they are running, when their well-being is dependent on a single enterprise.

He drew attention to the fact that city officials had had no lasting success in attracting other enterprises, unrelated to the motor industry, to the city.

This has to be seen against the background of the fresh challenges that Volkswagen is having to face. It is true that the VW Golf continues on its successful way, just as the legendary Beetle did before it.

But the citizens of Wolfsburg should not forget the words of the former Prime Minister of Lower Saxony, Alfred Kubel, during their birthday celebrations:

"When the lights go out at Volkswagen the lights will go out entirely in Lower Saxony."

Hans-Peter Sattler

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 24 March 1988)

Continued from page 10

schneiders knew 50 years ago when they were young.

The farm where Anna and Albert got to know each other looks just as it did all those years ago when they met and danced together for the first time.

The film will not be a nostalgia trip apparently, but will show how a young girl got on in difficult times.

In the final scene, played out in the present time, Anna Wimschneider plays herself.

In the scene she will be seen as a farmer's wife, pushing her bicycle along a village street.

It is a winter scene and she will be pelted with snow by the film crew.

She does not have to show any kind of amusement about this, but she puts up with it all and comments dryly: "Over the past few months I have got used to quite a lot."

Siegfried Krause

(Rheinische Post, 19 March 1988)

Young scientists compete in School Olympics

DIE WELT

Schoolboys and girls from 40 countries will be competing in Bad Ischl (in Austria), Sydney and Helsinki for points and medals in the "Schools Olympics" in July this year.

They will not be young sporting types but whizz-kids in chemistry, physics and mathematics.

In two examinations they will tackle problems in these subjects — for the glory of science and their teams.

These "Schools Olympics" have been going on since the early 1960s. The idea comes from the East Bloc, where the annual competition is used to sift out gifted young scientists.

This aspect plays only a subordinate role in the Federal Republic. Dr Ingo Tilgner from the Bonn Education Ministry said:

"Although our team often comes back with good results, we are not primarily concerned with the benefits for the economy."

He continued: "We are interested in awakening and encouraging interest in the natural sciences among young schoolboys and girls via these Olympics."

He has charge of the DM200,000 annual budget allocated to the "Schools Olympics."

This money is used to finance the four-stage national selection process. Only a few pupils from each country can take part — four pupils for chemistry, five for physics and six for mathematics. They have to be selected from about 2,500 applicants.

The "Olympics" will have to take place in two rounds in future with a complicated system of "home work." The four-day final test will sort out the wheat from the chaff.

Schoolboys and girls who have managed to get into the team can chalk up their first successes before the "Games" begin.

Every German "Olympian" will qualify for a grant from the *Studienstiftung des deutschen Volkes* so that from the start there are no financial worries for studies later on.

Support is not limited to the discipline in which the schoolboy or girl takes part in the Olympics.

Dr Gunter Lind of Kiel University said: "That's a good thing because most of the participants are very gifted and are involved in all disciplines."

Since 1975 Dr Lind has taken care of the Federal Republic's physics team.

He added: "Amateurs with only a limited knowledge prefer to take part in another competition, 'Jugend forscht', for example."

Young people under 20 who would like to take part in next year's "Schools Olympics" can register now.

The mathematics event will take place in Brunswick next year.

Participants will not have to find their travel and accommodation expenses themselves, and they will be given leave of absence from school during the selection preliminaries and the competition itself.

Friedemann Sittig

(Die Welt, Bonn, 30 March 1988)

■ WORK

Munich experts say computers program their operators

Süddeutsche Zeitung

More and more people daily face new information and communication techniques that have grown indispensable on the shopfloor, in the office and in the medical profession.

Microchips control central heating systems and washing machines. Computers forecast the weather and match dating partners. New technologies are hailed as labour- and time-saving.

"How do the new technologies influence our thinking, our sensual experience and our behaviour?" a number of specialists were asked in a series of interdisciplinary lectures at Munich University.

Fritz Böhle and Brigitte Milkau of the Munich Social Science Research Institute felt the new technology tended to supplant all human skills that could not immediately be pigeonholed in categories of rational activity.

They based their viewpoint on a survey of work at computerised CNC machine tools, arguing that these machines were supplanting sensual perception, or the previous use of eyes, ears, hands and body movements at the same time.

That was why developing a "feeling" for the machine was growing more difficult, the feeling defined by a skilled worker as:

"You start working at the machine and feel a sense of pain when something goes wrong."

This sensual and emotional relationship is seemingly rendered superfluous by computer controls. Measuring equipment, data and monitors take its place.

The man at the machine no longer plays an active part in handling it. Yet when an upset occurs and something unforeseen happens he is still expected to sense where the trouble lies.

It is a schizophrenic situation in which he is suddenly expected to be able to do things he has either forgotten *or never learnt in the first place.*

The two Munich sociologists feel this contradiction has already sown fresh seeds of staff strain and stress in manufacturing industry.

Darmstadt philosopher Robert Schurz set agains this imminent loss of sensual and emotional experience the orientation and modes of thought and behaviour that are encouraged by the new technologies.

He and mathematician Jörg Pflüger, both of Darmstadt University of Technology, have come across the mental outlook they feel is thus encouraged among people associated with computers at school, at work or in their studies.

They summarised their findings by describing a "machine-orientated type of character" with a mental approach tending toward formalism and algorithm.



Jumbo screen

This DM60,000 personal computer was specially designed for partially sighted students at Kassel University. It has a Braille printout and speech facility too. (Photo: dpa)

For this approach to work the type of character they describe is said to need a disturbance-free environment of its own, which accounts for the striving to keep contradictions, emotions, ambivalence and unclarity at bay.

The machine-orientated character has a powerful desire to keep everything under control.

Contacts with other people tend to be avoided because they might lead to unforeseen developments. Handling a computer is seen as ensuring greater security.

The daily lives of people Schurz and Pflüger classify as machine-orientated characters run as planned; they are systematic and arranged in a straitjacket of inflexible routines.

Munich medic Johannes Wiedemann noted that the new technologies promoted a non-historical perception of reality.

In a medical context this meant that a patient's complaints were viewed in isolation from their connection with the patient's life as soon as expert systems were used in diagnosis and treatment.

The dimension of growth and development is alien to these systems.

Expert systems were likelier than other aids to set aside and nudge into oblivion medical viewpoints geared to a concept of the individual in his entirety.

Munich University information scientist Kerstin Schill said expert systems worked with realities that were either unambiguous and quantifiable or, failing that, had to be rendered so.

Ambivalent, contradictory and incomplete aspects of a complaint were disregarded. Expert systems also disregarded different weighting of symptoms.

That, she felt, was why they were not a reliable means of helping to identify complaints and to cure them.

The various lectures made it clear that the new technologies require and promote a controlled, custom-built, *formal*, detached and planned mode of thought and activity.

Relationships with reality that are based on empathy and thus unpredictable are dismissed as undesirable.

This division of human options into valuable and less valuable categories was not just due to the computer, said Viennese political scientist Michael Wimmer.

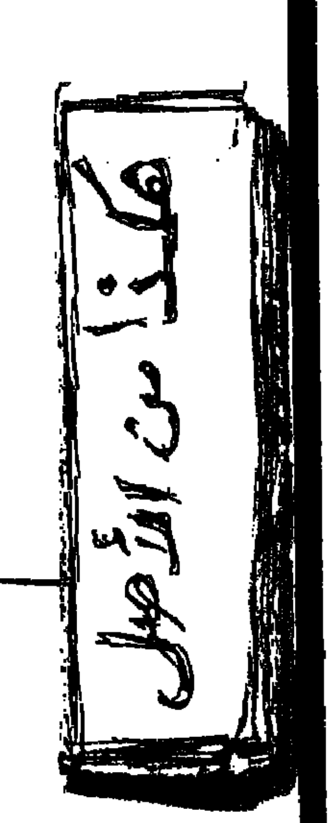
It must be seen in the context of Western civilisation, in the course of which abstract thought has come to be regarded as the apex of mental activity.

This trend has been accompanied by a correspondingly low level of awareness of the opportunities of perception afforded by the sensual and emotional view of the world.

Yet these opportunities are at times indispensable in that, to quote Ingeborg Bachmann, "the facts that make up the world need the non-factual from which to be recognised for what they are."

Christel Schachtner

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 17 March 1988)



One VDU workstation in four is found to be faulty



Factory inspectors in Baden-Württemberg have found one computer workstation (VDU) in four to be seriously defective — at least where user-friendly arrangement and statutory radiological markings are concerned.

The factory inspectorates checked 5,628 workstations at 785 firms on behalf of the Baden-Württemberg Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare.

The main shortcomings were in respect of ergonomic considerations and user-friendliness. In other words, screens, keyboards, chairs, desks and lighting were not satisfactorily arranged in relation to each other.

Hermann Mühlbeyer, state secretary at the Ministry in Stuttgart, says this is mainly due to lack of information within companies.

Ergonomic shortcomings were found to some extent to be the result of parts not matching.

Nearly one VDU in five (18.5 per cent) lacked a suitable footrest. Eight per cent lacked the handrests they needed because their keyboards were at

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■ RESEARCH

German survey bears out link between leukaemia and nuclear reactors

British research has for some time indicated the existence of a link between nuclear reactors and leukaemia. A new German study also points to the same connection.

Paediatrician Matthias Demuth from Kassel undertook the study at the request of concerned citizens in Höxter, Westphalia. They wanted him to check rumours that more children than before were suffering from leukaemia.

He was sceptical and demanded more precise details. He received a list which indeed showed that leukaemia among children had increased in the vicinity of the nuclear reactor at Würgassen.

Würgassen is the second-oldest reactor in West Germany. It is only 15 km south of Höxter in Beverungen, between the *Länder* of North-Rhine Westphalia, Lower Saxony and Hesse.

When the reactor went into service in 1972, it was the largest in Europe, feeding 670 megawatts into the national grid.

Würgassen's boiling water reactor once again holds a record. Official statistics say the reactor is the nation's leading radioactive culprit. Hardly any other reactor releases so much radioactivity into the atmosphere.

Dr Demuth made an epidemiological investigation to get to the bottom of the increase. The preconditions were good.

Since 1980 the Institute of Medical Statistics and Documentation in Mainz has been collecting and evaluating data on cases of child cancer.

He studied the leukaemia figures for areas within a 25-kilometre radius of the reactor. At the same time he used figures from the residents' registration office to calculate how many children and adolescents the area has.

SONNTAGSBLATT

He arranged them according to ranges of 15, 20 and 25 kilometres from the reactor.

He then compared the number of child leukaemia cases in the respective zones. The results of his research confirmed public suspicions.

In the last seven years, the number of child leukaemia cases within a radius of 20 kilometres was double the average.

Demuth found 15 cases instead of seven or eight — a significant deviation when one has applied the strictest statistical standards. Admittedly it's still a low figure. But leukaemia is a rare disease among children. West Germany's average is only four in 100,000.

By German standards Dr Demuth's study is practically a pioneer effort. Very few German epidemiological studies deal at all with the occurrence of leukaemia near nuclear reactors. And most of those that do so have shortcomings.

They probed the occurrence of the disease in rural districts. They did not treat areas close to reactors separately. Above all else, they only looked at figures for children and adolescents who died of leukaemia.

Since the 1970s doctors have been most successful in curing the disease. Thus surveys failed to take into account people who had been cured of leukaemia.

The only study which compares with Demuth's is that of the Society for Radiation and Environmental Research (GSF) in Neuherberg, near Munich. However the GSF found no increase in child leukaemia near ordinary Bavarian atomic reactors.

But the picture looks different for scientific research reactors. There were more young people with the disease near the Garching and Neuherberg reactors than predicted by official statistics.

British studies confirm Demuth's findings. The leukaemia rate near Britain's old research reactors is clearly above the national average.

The notorious Sellafield reactor, formerly Windscale, holds the national record for leukaemia. In neighbouring Seascale, epidemiologists have found a rate of child leukaemia ten times higher than normal.

They also found significant increases at the Scottish reactors in Dounreay and Hunterston and at Aldermaston, between London and Bristol.

Admittedly all these findings cannot be explained scientifically. Leukaemia is indeed the most important radiation-induced cancer.

Doctors know that the unborn child is particularly at risk.

However they learnt this from tests on the overexposed populations of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

They know little about the effects of low exposure.

Martin Gardner, medical statistician at the University of Southampton, came up with a vital clue. His study of Seascale/Sellafield shows that leukaemia has increased only among children born near reactors.

Birth places more than 25 kilometres away have the national average rate of leukaemia.

"This suggests that something causes the disease during pregnancy or infancy," Gardner says.

Do low levels of radiation from reactors increase the incidence of leukaemia among children or not? Matthias Demuth is cautious about interpreting his findings.

"One should not say, on the basis of this one study, that properly functioning atomic reactors, in general, cause more leukaemia among children and adolescents," he said.

He said there should be studies of all areas near German atomic reactors. Only broadly-based studies can lend experts to a reasonable conclusion.

Since data is available and accessible, the question is why authorities have not carried out such studies. Is it a dislike of epidemiology or are they afraid of the results?

Jürgen Kundke

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 20 March 1988)

Continued from page 12

too high a level. Inadequate awareness of ergonomic requirements was indicated by the fact that 15 per cent of operators questioned said they had been given no instruction in arranging their workstation ergonomically.

Screens and desks were wrongly arranged as a result.

The inspectors found management and staff to be poorly informed on health aspects of VDU work too. Many firms had no idea that sight tests were recommended for staff who worked at computer screens, and nearly one in four went untested.

Yet sight tests are particularly important for older workers. VDU work does not in itself overstrain the eye, but poor eyesight, if uncorrected, can lead in the long terms to headaches and other complaints.

The most frequent defect (nearly one monitor in three was at fault in this respect) was the lack of statutory radiological markings.

Monitors must have a little aluminium plate certifying that they comply with radiological requirements.

Herr Mühlbeyer stressed that none of the VDU screens tested were a radiation risk. Most emitted radiation at levels well below the statutory maximum.

Yet the "seal of approval" was a statutory requirement too many manufacturers evidently tended to disregard.

Hansjörg Jung

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 24 March 1988)

PVC component is pinpointed as cancer risk

Scientists have found a chemical in plastic PVC foil which kills plants and fish. But the public has not shown much interest in the findings.

Scientist Rosemary Cole is disappointed at the unspectacular ending to an exciting scientific search for the chemical. "I can't understand why our findings have been ignored by the public," she said.

The mystery began at the National Institute for Vegetable Research in Warwick, England. Outdoor plants covered with PVC foil for protection against bad weather shrivelled up and died. Greenhouse plants wrapped up in the same foil also died.

PVC is polyvinyl chloride. But the foil is even more of a cocktail than its name suggests. It has heavy metals to protect it from light and heat and chemicals to reduce flammability.

About a third of PVC foil consists of plasticisers. They make PVC, which is hard and brittle, into a pliable and malleable finished product.

But which of the many chemicals is the culprit? After much spade work, Cole and her colleagues came up with DBP (Di-Butyl-Phthalate).

Strictly speaking, the deadly chemical had been on the wanted list since the late 1950s. Back then, American scientists discovered that a minute sample of DBP foil in an aquarium kills a goldfish within an hour. But the findings ended up, like the recent English ones, collecting dust on library shelves.

Experts at the Environmental Protection Agency in Berlin knew nothing about the British findings even though DBP is one of the most regularly used plasticisers in the processing of PVC.

The most widely-used plasticiser is DEHP (Di-Ethyl-Hexyl-Phthalate). DEHP is similar to DBP. For comparison with DBP, scientists have measured its toxicity by means of thorough tests on laboratory animals.

Scientists discovered that DEHP, at least in large doses, can cause deformities as well as cancer of the gonads.

American toxicologists concluded three years ago that the results of experiments on mice and rats were enough to classify DEHP as a cancer threat to humans.

However German authorities refuse to ban the foil. They base their decision on new evidence from the Heidelberg Cancer Research Centre.

The Heidelberg researchers made Syrian golden hamsters inhale and take injections of quantities of DEHP in "environmentally relevant" doses. The results were negative.

Carcinogenesis, the specialist cancer magazine, recently published the results. But critics of the tests say the doses of DEHP were too low, the golden hamsters too resistant and the number of animals exposed too small to draw any definite conclusions.

When experts disagree like this, it's difficult for the layman to know what to do. But many critics are right in saying that if there are reasonable doubts the authorities should introduce appropriate legislation. There is indeed enough cause for concern. And not just because of the results of experiments on animals.

Last year there were incidents caused by DEHP at the Cologne Paediatric Clinic. Premature babies breathing through tubes containing DEHP developed complications. Their lungs showed changes which doctors could not explain.

Erich Gladtke, Head of of the Cologne clinic, said condensed water in the tubes had abnormal discolouration. Doctors changed the tubes and the problems disappeared.

Gladtke said: "Medical tubes with DEHP in them do not belong in clinical medicine." Luckily there are alternative, more expensive medical tubes on the market.

Dialysis patients could also benefit from the new tubes. They take in significant amounts of plasticisers from tubes during their weekly blood filtering sessions. The same goes for accident victims. Hospitals store blood in PVC bags and use infusion devices made up of up to 33 per cent of DEHP.

Admittedly the Federal Health Minister did not know of a less dangerous replacement. During parliamentary question time, her secretary of state said he would be grateful for any information on the subject.

The Düsseldorf Chemical Institute and the Hamburg Seminar for the Promotion of Applied Biological Research have learnt much about the dangers of plasticisers in the home.

Their tests of South-East Asian toys for DBP and DEHP often show them to contain as much as 30 per cent of DEHP.

Children like to chew and lick such toys. They can easily swallow parts of them. This can be dangerous, regardless which plasticiser the toy contains.

Stomach acids dissolve the plasticiser. The hard and sharp-edged plastic part is left over to cause internal injury.

Robert Müller/Bernd Schuh

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 25 March 1988)

■ ESPIONAGE

Cologne spy-busters unmask KGB agents — 'all part of the day's work'

The unmasking of an extensive KGB espionage network in the Federal Republic will not put Chancellor Kohl off from visiting Moscow as planned later this year, according to a statement from his office in Bonn.

The operations of undercover agents are among the realities of East-West relations. They are a standard practice with which one has to come to terms.

This is not altered in any way by a relaxation of tension, by disarmament talks or by the amiable Mr Gorbachov.

Quite the opposite happens in fact. When all is quiet agents are at their busiest, according to Gerhard Boeden, president of the Cologne-based *Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz*, the Federal Republic's counter-espionage agency.

Boeden is an expert on espionage affairs and what he says is logical. When sabres are being rattled everyone is on the qui vive and no-one trusts anyone.

In times when tensions are eased spies and agents are an early-warning system offering protection when the going gets rough and putting people on *the alert in good time so that new positions can covertly be taken up.*

The recent successes of counter-intelligence are worthy of attention on several grounds.

The chief federal prosecutor has recently put in motion 24 cases of preliminary proceedings. In eight cases warrants for arrest were issued, but in two instances they were dropped.

The last time an investigation of this size was mounted occurred when Lt-Colonel Werner Stille of the East German National Security Ministry defected in 1979.

Then, at a stroke, 37 East German agents operating in science and research sectors were uncovered.

Obviously the *Verfassungsschutz* has successfully discovered how to filter out from the masses of refugees the people the KGB has recruited for espionage in this country.

The counter-espionage authorities are naturally unwilling to disclose the sources of their information. No-one is prepared to say whether a refugee has turned double-agent or whether a radio code has been cracked.

The agents recently trapped have all been working for the KGB for a long time, *in one instance for 19 years.*

Most of them were activated only after having been in the Federal Republic for some time. A prospective agent is left alone until he or she has climbed the career ladder to a position of interest from the espionage point of view.

Another agent is responsible for building up the KGB's network in the West, which shows that the KGB operates with long-term objectives in mind.

For a long time East Bloc espionage activities have put less emphasis on technological aids to spying than have their opposite numbers in the West.

The West has taken the attitude that the old-school spy has no future. Despite all the advances in high-technology used for spying the East Bloc authorities are convinced that satellites and computers cannot replace the "human element" entirely.

East Bloc intelligence gathering, particularly that done by the KGB, has



never been sparing as regards personnel.

The latest counter-espionage successes must have triggered off a lot of rethinking in East Bloc espionage agencies.

It is true that East Bloc intelligence services, under the overall command of the KGB, have operated a system of division of labour. The Federal Republic has been primarily the theatre of operations for Poland, but particularly East Germany.

The Bulgarians, the Czechs, and recently the Romanians, have been left to take care of the dirty work such as kidnapping, sabotage and murder.

The Soviet Union operates the largest number of operatives in this system, the "local resident."

According to estimates made by the counter-espionage authorities in this country 52 per cent of the staff of the Soviet embassy and trade mission and all the personnel in the military missions in Bünde, in Frankfurt and Baden-Baden, are members of the KGB or the GRU.

This means that about 230 people can operate as agents without any personal risk. They can make assignations, *snoop about in prohibited zones and sound out their partners in Bonn and in* trade negotiations.

A favourite trick is to dangle before young executives promises of large contracts when they can be of assistance because they are involved in high technology that is on the embargo list.

Until now it was taken as read that *the KGB employed relatively few* agents, but these were in particularly key positions.

Only between ten to 15 per cent of the spies uncovered over the past few years were KGB personnel.

But among them were people of the calibre of "Tornado spy" Manfred Rotsch. He was sentenced to eight and a half years imprisonment. He was exchanged and, incidentally, is now back in Munich.

Or Margret Höke who, as a secretary in the president's office, was able to provide her East Bloc masters with 1,017 documents.

Lore Silterlin was a typical KGB spy. She supplied her Moscow masters with 136 state secrets from the Foreign Office.

Heinz Felfe was head of counter-espionage in the Federal Intelligence Agency. He supplied Moscow with 15,660 photographs of secret documents.

Some of the spies recently uncovered were people who, as sources of information, were of considerable significance.

They included a businessman who had been involved in the details of the Tornado multi-role combat aircraft and the "Jäger 90," and a Russian teacher who had worked at the government's language school in Hürth where young people from the Federal Intelligence Agency are given language training.

Espionage experts fear that if he had infiltrated the members of the Russian class in two courses, one year after another, the damage would be serious.

The other cases involve people who did not come up to current ideas of KGB standards.

A counter-espionage expert said that obviously "the KGB took on everyone they could get."

This development shows that the KGB is putting increasing importance on the military and civilian high technology sectors. *A competitive advantage for the* Soviet economy is here at stake.

Whereas the Comecon states exchange information in most areas, in the economic field each East Bloc country works on economic secrets for its own account.

Six of the people arrested were emigrés from the Soviet Union. Chief public prosecutor Kurt Rebmann said that it was now necessary to think in terms of vetting emigrés from all Warsaw Pact states.

The counter-espionage authorities have known of this problem for some time. East Bloc intelligence agencies send their agents over to the West disguised as emigrés, or they try to recruit emigrés before they leave from behind the Iron Curtain.

Often permission to emigrate is *linked to being recruited for East Bloc* espionage services.

The Bonn security authorities try to get on the track of people who have been coerced into spying during the investigations that all emigrés undergo.

But a spokesman for the counter-intelligence service said that "professionals were so well prepared that they do not attract attention to themselves."

It is impossible to keep all emigrés away from security-sensitive jobs for ever. There is a waiting period, however, before an emigré can have access to secret material, which helps from a security point of view. This period extends from between five to 10 years.

But agents can wait. If the counter-intelligence authorities have found a method of weeding out emigrés who have turned spy it would be the most important blow to East Bloc espionage since the discovery of the system of smuggling in East German agents that came to light ten years ago.

Horst Zimmermann

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 1 April 1988)

East Bloc spies prey on Bonn lonely hearts

For years it has been a well-known fact that East Bloc secret services have shamelessly preyed on the loneliness of secretaries working at various Bonn ministries.

But the number of cases that have been exposed, with secretaries involved *sentenced to prison terms as spies*, has not had a deterring effect.

The women involved are beyond reason when it is a matter of "faked" love.

It has been common knowledge *among Bonn secretaries that East Berlin* is very fond of using the talents of "Romeos" in their intelligence-gathering operations.

The latest case, involving Elke Falk from the Bonn Economic Cooperation Ministry, demonstrates clearly how innocent, lonely women can fall into the inhuman espionage world.

Elke Falk, 43, fell in love with East Berlin's chief spy, Gerhard Thieme. He convincingly played the role of lover and exploited her feelings harshly. He then betrayed her.

She is now in remand prison and has only one desire: she wants to marry the man who turned her into a criminal.

Only outsider observers could laugh at the fact that women still fall for the lies about love made by agents.

These secretaries are certainly not Mata Haris. Their human tragedies sink from public view silently after their trial.

Still fresh in the memory is the case



KGB spy Margret Höke, 52, at court in Düsseldorf (Photo: dpa)

of Margret Höke, who acted as a spy out of love.

She had been a secretary in the president's office. Last year she was sentenced to eight years imprisonment for treason, betraying official secrets and corruption.

When she was 31 and living alone she met what she believed was an East German refugee named Franz Becker. This was in 1968.

He was six years younger than her and he was in fact a *KGB agent.*

Helped by the Ministry of State Security in East Berlin the KGB put together an almost perfect cover for him.

For the previous nine years Margret *Höke had been working* in the president's office, even under President Theodor Heuss.

She was industrious and tactful. She was often considered for a civil award and special recognition for her many years of public service.

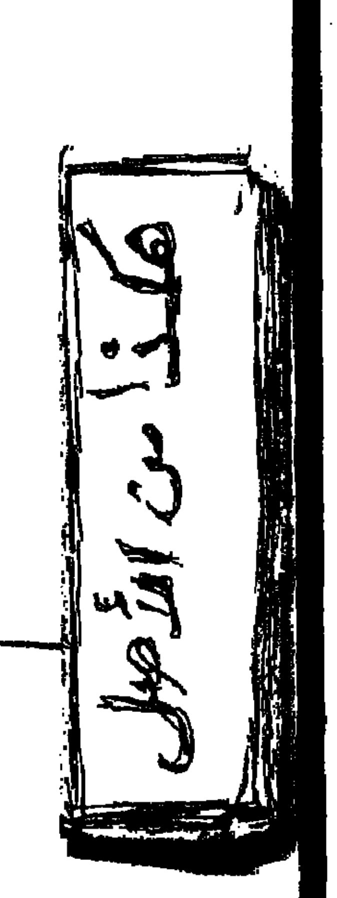
But she had no male friends — until lively Franz Becker came on the scene, that is.

When she got to know and love Becker she also quickly got to know the spy's craft, the business of hiding mini-cameras in lipsticks, writing messages in code and preparing clothes brushes to carry photocopies of secret documents.

The KGB were delighted with their agent in the Holy of Holies in Bonn, the president's office.

Margret Höke for her part was delighted with her boyfriend, with her *engagement ring, with the jewellery and* other presents he gave her. She was also given money. She provided Moscow

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■ IMMIGRATION

Migrant workers object to EC and non-EC status



The first conference of foreigners' councils and organisations in the Federal Republic, held in Wiesbaden, ended, after a 36-hour marathon, in virtual chaos.

Tsambikos Kolios, a Greek resident of Rüsselsheim, near Frankfurt, and one of the conference co-chairmen, refused to let anyone else speak at one stage.

There were protests in the hall, among the 750 delegates, against resolutions that had been worked out the day before by four working committees.

Then Kolios apologised for letting his feelings run away with him. He implored the conference to come to order saying: "We must show to the public at large a sense of unity."

The platform repeatedly pointed out that in the chaos of the last hour of the conference delegates in full assembly had forgotten to vote on the resolutions.

The conference, that was of historical importance, ended up without any final resolutions approved. All that was achieved were a few documents that took away the breath of even the most sympathetic observer.

There was a hint that any attempts to introduce voting rights for just European Community nationals would not be without its consequences.

One spokesman said that any attempt to divide foreigners would be opposed.

Demands were made for assured residential status for all de facto refugees seeking asylum.

There was a call for the abolition of visa requirements and for an end to deportation, particularly deportation to *war zones and crisis regions of the* world.

In a kind of preamble it was stated that "human and civil rights were being withheld" from aliens.

Foreigners had their lives made more difficult in times of greater economic difficulty through "the increasingly restrictive government policies concerning foreigners and rights of asylum" with the apparent alternative of "integration or return home."

The event in Wiesbaden attracted considerable media attention. It was attended by CDU, CSU and Green delegates, who were able to take part in the working committee discussions.

The FDP was not represented. The Federal commissioner for aliens' affairs, Free Democrat Liselotte Funcke, sent a welcoming address to the Wiesbaden conference.

There was, in fact, no lack of well-wishers. President Richard von Weizsäcker sent his best wishes to the delegates.

It was no accident that Wiesbaden was selected as the venue for the conference. The first foreigners' council was set up in Wiesbaden, capital of Hesse, in the early 1970s.

The members of this council, representing foreign workers, were directly elected and advised the city council on matters concerning foreigners living in the city.

There are 4.5 million foreigners living in the Federal Republic at present. Statistics show that 7.6 per cent of the population are non-Germans.

According to the points raised at the Wiesbaden conference these people resist any attempt to integrate them that would entail forfeiting their cultural identity.

There were in fact only four *Länder* represented at the "national" conference of foreigners' councils: Hesse, North Rhine-Westphalia, Lower Saxony and Baden-Württemberg.

It emerged from the conference that although all over the country there were many small communities with a large proportion of foreigners they were not represented.

Opinions differed as to the effectiveness of foreigners' councils as a means of political participation. They only have an advisory capacity in any event.

Many complained that participation in elections was extremely low. Many foreigners have so far shown little or no interest in being represented in this way.

The political sympathies of the delegates from the 60 foreigners' councils and foreigners' organisations in the Federal Republic who met in Wiesbaden were unmistakable. They made up a half of the representatives present at the conference.

Monika Bethschneider, a Green member of the Bundestag, was greeted with tumultuous applause when she chastised the SPD for its "half-hearted attitude" in calling for the right to vote in local elections only for EC nationals.

Half the hall came to its feet when she said: "It is not a matter of solving a purely European problem." *Ingeborg Toth*

(Allgemeine Zeitung, Mainz, 28 March 1988)

Unaccompanied children pose asylum problem

The Bonn Interior Ministry and the Federal Border Police are seriously worried about the future of seven Turkish children who recently landed at Hanover. They were not accompanied by grown-ups.

By mid-March 140 children, mainly from Lebanon, Iran and Turkey, have arrived in the Federal Republic in this way.

Officials are assuming that touting organisations in the countries of origin, *usually disguised as travel agencies*, have found a dodge for evading the Federal Republic's immigration regulations.

These organisations use "transit privileges" in the case of children and adults from Istanbul or Ankara.

A traveller is allowed entry into the Federal Republic without a visa if the plane is flying on to another country.

Tickets are issued, mainly to Barcelona or Madrid, although they are only used as far as Frankfurt. The repayment for the price difference finds its way into the touting organisation's pocket.

The Interior Ministry has so far declined to allow the 140 children to stay in *the country, although no steps have been* taken to send them back to the countries from which they came.

The Frankfurt dodge will continue to be available now the flow of people seeking asylum via Schönefeld airport, near East Berlin, has dried up after talks between East German and Federal Republic authorities.

In February alone there were 5,836 applications for asylum, considerably more than in January when 4,233 were registered.

Top of the list of those seeking asylum are Poles with 1,635 applications, then Turks (1,433). They are followed by Iranians (605), Yugoslavs (491), Pakistanis (230), Lebanese (167) and Sri Lankans.

Specialists have been worried by a recent decision by the Federal Administrative Court in the case of an Iranian seeking asylum.

The court has ruled that homosexual Iranians, who are threatened by the death sentence under the Ayatollah's regime, have a right to claim asylum.

The case of a 40-year-old Iranian was taken as the test case for the decision. His appeal for asylum had already been confirmed by a lower court.

This decision confirms that homosexuality is relevant as a reason for seeking *political asylum. The Geneva convention* on refugees lists race, belief and nationality as criteria for assessing applications for political asylum.

(Die Welt, Bonn, 19 March 1988)

Aliens Bill is to clarify legal position

With its new aliens legislation the Bonn government will make it easier for foreigners who have lived in the country for a long time to integrate, but it will limit the influx of foreigners.

Furthermore foreigners will still be encouraged to return home voluntarily.

The legislation has been agreed by the Interior and Justice Ministries, but departmental proposals are not yet to hand.

Reports about measures allegedly proposed such as making aliens' commissioners toe the political line of the Bonn government describe only tentative considerations.

The Chancellor has ordered that the issue should *not be brought to the forefront of debate* among his Coalition partners.

State Secretary Hans Neusel of the Interior Ministry and Klaus Kinkel of the Justice Ministry have been entrusted to draw up proposals agreed by all.

The FDP will participate in this although this was brought into doubt because of indiscretion.

Neusel and Kinkel are pressed for time. They have to present their proposals by the end of May, at the latest in June, so that the aliens legislation can be approved during the lifetime of the present Bundestag.

In the course of consultations consideration will be given especially to "drawing a distinction between different categories of right to residence."

For example should students only remain in the Federal Republic for the period of their studies? When they have completed their courses they have to leave Germany. An example of such regulations would be Switzerland.

It is questionable whether the FDP will agree to this. Experts believe that the rule at present in force that permission to remain in the country would "automatically" be extended would be scrapped.

After eight years permission to remain permanently in the Federal Republic is automatic and there is no question of deportation.

It is also proposed to introduce a standard practice in the Federal Republic covering deportation.

At present local authorities take different courses of action and they are entitled to do so even in cases involving serious crime.

The coalition partners are obviously agreed that persons guilty of crimes of violence must be deported.

The discussions between the CDU/CSU and the FDP must take into consideration the view of Bonn Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann that local authorities must deport extremists.

The activities of the communist-inspired Kurdish organisation PKK is a thorn in the side of CSU politicians, for instance. Usually PKK members are not deported.

It is believed that the FDP would only approve a restrictive version of the aliens legislation with considerable heart-searching.

In 1986 it was calculated that 117,000 foreigners were members of extremist organisations.

Integration for foreigners who have lived in this country for many years will *be made easier by relaxing the regulations* on naturalisation, although the Bonn government does not consider naturalisation to be an "instrument" for promoting integration.

It is rather the end result of a successful process of integration.

This is the reason why naturalisation under the new aliens legislation will not be made easier for the first, recruited to come here, generation of foreigners living in the Federal Republic.

Subsequent generations, brought up in Germany, who know the country well but are still *foreign nationals* (yet feel alienated from their country of origin) should find it easier to become Germans than before.

The Bonn government plans to include in its reform what it recommended to the *Länder* in December *1981 concerning family members* following parents to this country.

The government is no longer prepared to discuss reducing the age at which children can follow their parents to the Federal Republic of Germany from 16 to six.

Some *Länder*, such as Bremen, will have to alter their approach. The state of Bremen allows foreign children to follow their parents to this country up to the age of 18. *Ulrich Reitz*

(Die Welt, Bonn, 2 April 1988)

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with secret documents from the president's office up to 1985. But the counter-espionage authorities got wind of her fatal liaison after a routine check on Franz Becker.

Margret Höke has now been released from prison and is looking for a job. She has been in prison for 31 months and her good behaviour has earned her parole.

She has been given remission of two-thirds of her sentence. But she now has to deal with a mountain of debts and she *must pay the costs of her trial* — DM100,000. *Peter Born*

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 24 March 1988)